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A Grammar of Old English

Volume 2: Morphology

RICHARD M. HOGG
and
R. D. FULK

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The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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Preface

When Richard M. Hogg died suddenly on 6 September 2007 at the age of sixty-three, he left unfinished the present, second volume of his *Grammar of Old English*, of which the first volume appeared in 1992. In early 2001 he had shown me drafts of chapters 8 through 10 and asked me to critique them. Because of that prior acquaintance with the work, on the advice of Donka Minkova David Denison asked me, on behalf of Richard Hogg's widow Margaret, to look into the state of the work to determine whether it might be possible to complete it. With relatively minor omissions, RMH had completed drafts of chapters 8 through 11, and half of chapter 12, though he had not yet made any revisions to his initial drafts. My own contributions to the present volume comprise the remaining chapters and revision of the material he left. The chief manner of revision was to supply references to and discussion of scholarship published in the interval since the appearance of the latest editions of the grammars of Sievers–Brunner and Campbell. RMH undoubtedly intended to add such references in the course of revision, as in his drafts he had not cited more than a few even of his own very many publications.

Although my revisions have been extensive, they are for the most part superficial, as I have avoided altering the fundamentals of RMH's approach. One notable exception is in regard to the analysis of Proto-Indo-European noun morphology and its development in early Germanic, as treated in chapter 9, which has been brought into line with more current views. Another is in regard to both the synchronic and the diachronic analyses of disyllabic noun and adjective stems, as presented in chapters 10 and 11, respectively. RMH's views on such matters were continually in course of development, and the analysis offered in the chapter drafts did not agree entirely with views he advocated in publications subsequent to their drafting, particularly Hogg (2000) and Bermúdez-Otero and Hogg (2003). Given his unsettled views, it seemed best to look into the matter afresh, and this resulted in some rather thoroughgoing changes. Otherwise, I have generally avoided altering the framework, methodology and conclusions of what he left us.

This is particularly true of the theoretical underpinnings of the work. One of the innovative features of the first volume was its employment of generative phonological theory. But the theoretical framework adduced was essentially that of N. Chomsky and M. Halle's *Sound Pattern of English* (1968), and its rule-governed model of phonology has lost ground in the intervening years to Optimality Theory, Exemplar Theory, and other recent approaches. RMH himself came eventually to question the viability of the rule-governed model, for example in Hogg (2000). It would not, however, have been possible to revise the chapter drafts in conformity with the theory of constraint ranking, or other recent theoretical developments in phonology and morphology, without altering fundamentally the nature and aims of the work. Under the circumstances, it was necessary to preserve the work's original premises (though some of the discussion of generative rules has been moved to the notes) so that it might serve two particular purposes. The first of these was to ensure that RMH's work was made available to scholars with as little tampering, in regard to fundamentals, as could be managed. The value of this, it is hoped, will be particularly apparent in regard to his innovative separation of diachronic and synchronic considerations in the analysis of noun morphology, as represented by chapters 9 and 10, respectively. The second purpose was to include full treatment, or as full as was feasible, of scholarship on Old English morphology, especially scholarship subsequent to that of Sievers–Brunner and Campbell, since there is currently no convenient way to locate relevant scholarship of the past 40 years on Old English morphology but by careful bibliographical study. It is hoped that these two purposes of themselves will be seen to justify the work. As RMH acknowledged in the preface to the first volume, with characteristic modesty, the work was intended to supplement rather than supplant the excellent grammars of Campbell and Sievers–Brunner (and, for the phonology, it might be added, that of Luick). The same is true of the present volume, and readers will find that they are often referred to those grammars for a fuller or alternative account of particular points.

RDF

Acknowledgments

RMH's *Grammar of Old English* of course would never have reached completion but for the foresight of David Denison, Margaret Hogg, and Donka Minkova, to whom my profoundest thanks are due. I am equally indebted to three anonymous readers for the press, who studied the typescript with extraordinary care and suggested changes that have improved the work decisively. I wish also to express my gratitude to Danielle Descoteaux, Acquisitions Editor for Linguistics at Wiley-Blackwell, who perceived the value of completing a work such as this, despite the special difficulties involved in producing the second volume after the lapse of so many years, and to Julia Kirk, Editorial Assistant, who smoothed over those difficulties with such a sure hand as to make it all look easy. Glynis Baguley performed the copyediting with consummate skill. Janet Moth completed the project management, and to her many thanks are due for stepping in at short notice. My greatest debt, however, is to my partner of more than twenty years, Brian Powell, whose constant and selfless help and support are grounded in the bedrock of a sociologist's prudent unconcern for dead languages.

List of Abbreviations

General

Angl	Anglian
C	consonant
DOEC	*Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (Healey, 2004)
eKt	early Kentish
eME	early Middle English
eNbr	early Northumbrian
eOE	early Old English
EWS	Early West Saxon
Gmc	Germanic
Got	Gothic
Grk	Greek
IE	Indo-European
IGmc	Inland Germanic
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Kt	Kentish
lNbr	late Northumbrian
Lat	Latin
Li	*Lindisfarne Gospels*
lOE	late Old English
LVD	*Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*
LWS	Late West Saxon
MCOE	*A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Healey & Venezky, 1980)
ME	Middle English
Merc	Mercian
Nbr	Northumbrian
NGmc	North Germanic

NMerc	North Mercian
NNbr	North Northumbrian
NSGmc	North Sea Germanic
NWGmc	North-West Germanic
nWS	non-West Saxon
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
ON	Old Norse
OSax	Old Saxon
PDE	Present-day English
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Pre-OE	Pre-Old English (see §2.14n1)
Ru1	*Rushworth Gospels* (Mercian gloss)
Ru2	*Rushworth Gospels* (Northumbrian gloss)
SE	South-Eastern
Skt	Sanskrit
SNbr	South Northumbrian
V	vowel
WGmc	West Germanic
WMerc	West Mercian
WS	West Saxon

Note: The short titles of individual texts are those employed by the *Dictionary of Old English* and its *Corpus* (Healey 2004).

Special

a	aanmerkung (in citations of Dutch texts)
A	Anmerkung (in citations of German texts)
fn.	footnote (in citations of English texts)
n	note (in citations of English texts)
†	form not found in the *DOEC*
*	reconstructed or hypothetical form
**	form not known to occur in Old English

Grammatical

adj.	adjective
acc.	accusative

comp.	comparative
dat.	dative
def.	definite
du.	dual
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
imper.	imperative
ind.	indicative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
infl.	inflected
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
neg.	negated
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
pa.	past
part.	participle
pl.	plural
pr.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
sup.	superlative
vb.	verb
wk.	weak
1sg., 2sg., etc.	first person singular, second person singular, etc.

1

Preliminaries

1.1 The discussion of Old English inflexional morphology in a work such as this presents particular difficulties which must be made explicit at the very start. These difficulties arise from the fact that the structure and organization of inflexion underwent considerable change both during the relevant prehistory of Old English and within the Old English period itself.[1] Major structural changes occurred particularly with the declension of nouns and adjectives, see §§1.2–4, and it is naturally with these declensions that the most serious difficulties arise. In verbs, the third major word class, changes, although frequent, are either less often of such a far-reaching structural nature or affect all verbs in the same way, and therefore the difficulties anticipated here do not arise to the same extent.

---

[1] For a general overview of the structural shifts alluded to here, see Hogg (1992c).

1.2 In the Indo-European protolanguage the inflexional system of nouns was originally root-based. That is to say, the noun consisted of a root to which one or more suffixes might be added to form the stem, and to that stem were added inflexions that were originally the same for all stem classes. By late PIE this orderly system was already in process of change, with certain exceptions to the rule that inflexions were the same in all stem classes and to the rule that the stem was formed the same way throughout a given paradigm, with only allophonic and ablaut variations. This process of change continued in the Germanic protolanguage, with the result that in certain stem classes the inflexion attracted to itself the stem termination, particularly if it was vocalic. Thus, we may reconstruct a shift illustrated by the following singular paradigms, representing the change of PIE **wl̥kʷ-o-s* 'wolf', comprising root **wl̥kʷ-* plus stem-forming suffix *-*o*- plus inflexion *-*s*, to late PGmc **wulf-az*, comprising stem **wulf-* plus inflexion *-*az*:

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	PIE		**PGmc**
Nom.	*wl̥kʷ-o-s	>	*wulf-az
Acc.	*wl̥kʷ-o-m	>	*wulf-ã
Gen.	*wl̥kʷ-o-so	>	*wulf-as(a)[1]
Loc.	*wl̥kʷ-o-y	>	*wulf-ai

Although in the nom.gen. PGmc **-a-* could still have been regarded as belonging to the stem rather than the inflexion, by late PGmc, **-m* had been lost in the acc., with nasalization of the preceding vowel, which then had to be regarded as the sole inflexion rather than a combination of suffixal vowel plus inflexion; and **-ai* in the locative was a diphthong, a unitary phoneme, and thus the inflexion must be regarded as **-ai* rather than **-i*. A similar development affected the PIE etymon of PDE *mead*, with different results:[2]

	PIE		**PGmc**
Nom.	*medh-u-s	>	*með-uz
Acc.	*medh-u-m	>	*með-ũ
Gen.	*medh-ew-s	>	*með-euz
Dat.	*medh-ow-ey	>	*með-ēu[3]

The vowel alternations in the PGmc inflexions do not lend themselves readily to the supposition that the endings might have been analysed as stem formative + inflexion. Note that the gen.sg. inflexion on this noun was differentiated from that of **wl̥kʷ-o-so* already in PIE.

---

[1] For the gen.sg. inflexion of *a*-stems, see Hogg (1992b: §3.28) and references.

[2] The variation **-u-* ~ *-ew-* ~ *-ow-* in the stem is due to PIE ablaut phenomena.

[3] The Gmc dat. is not actually a direct development from the PIE dat., see Bammesberger (1990a: 153).

1.3 The paradigms given in §1.2 illustrate the rise of different declensional classes distinguished not on the basis of stem endings, as in PIE, but on the basis of the variety of inflexions attached to the now truncated stem. The paradigms illustrate just two of the sets of inflexions that arose in this manner; the full range of inflexional sets is examined in chapter 2. Subsequent developments were chiefly of two types. Firstly, inflexional endings were further reduced, resulting either in the loss of the ending altogether, as very commonly happened in the nom. and acc. sg., see for example Hogg (1992b: §§3.31, 6.2), or in reduction of the number of contrasts amongst the endings. In some declensional categories, loss of the original inflexional endings caused what were originally derivational suffixes to serve as inflexions, particularly those nouns bearing a PIE suffix in **-n-*,[1] see especially §§2.84–5. Secondly, the early Gmc languages in general seem to have tolerated relatively little paradigm allomorphy in declension. When irregularities did develop, they were very commonly removed on an analogical basis. Thus, for example, WGmc nom.sg. **saʒi* should have resulted in OE **seġe*, but instead only *seċġ* 'man' occurs, since the stem **sagg-* found in all the other cases was levelled into the nom.sg., see §2.23. Such paradigm regularization has operated throughout the history of the Gmc languages; very likely it is responsible for the PGmc gemination of approximants described in Hogg (1992b: §3.17), see Fulk (1993).

[1] These are the so-called weak nouns. The use of the terms 'strong' and 'weak' to denote vocalic stems and *n*-stems (less often all consonantal stems), although common and due originally to Jakob Grimm, has little to recommend it, and we avoid it here in the description of nominal morphology; see §4.1 on the use of analogous terminology in connexion with adjectival morphology. For further information on the usage, see *OED*: **strong** *a*.23.

1.4 In Gmc there had developed a syntactically motivated distinction between definite (or 'weak') and indefinite (or 'strong') adjectives. Broadly speaking, the definite form of the adjective was used after a demonstrative or its equivalent, i.e. a possessive NP or possessive pronoun, whilst the indefinite form of the adjective was used elsewhere; for further details and qualification, see §§4.1–2 and Mitchell (1985: §§102ff.). The comparative forms always follow the definite declension, whilst the superlative may be definite or indefinite. Quantifying adjectives, e.g. *eall* 'all', *moniġ* 'many', *sum* 'some', are usually indefinite, by virtue of their syntax, although for most such words some definite forms exist.[1] A few adjectives are indeclinable, notably the quantifier *fela* 'many', see further §4.17.

[1] There are apparently no definite forms of *sum*, as might be predicted from its syntax.

1.5 The indefinite declensions of adjectives derive in principle from the same PIE patterns as are found in nouns, with stems ending in a vowel referred to as vocalic stems. However, the morphology of indefinite adjectives incorporated a number of pronominal inflexions, see §4.9–13 for details. The definite declension of adjectives is a Gmc innovation and is plainly the result of the adoption of the endings of the *n*-stem noun declension.[1] Consequently, the principal changes in adjective declensions during the OE period closely matched those in the corresponding noun declensions, albeit with some minor variations. A notable characteristic of the definite adjective declension is that there are no distinctions of gender in the plural, although this is due directly to the normal development of the *n*-stem noun declension.

[1] There was in PIE a substantivizing/individualizing suffix *-*ōn*-, as in Gk. *γάστρων* 'paunchy', 'fat-gut' (cf. *γαστήρ* 'paunch'). Words bearing it were most commonly in

definite usage, and it is likely that this is the origin of use of the *n*-stem suffix with definite adjectives in Gmc, see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, §53).

1.6 The kinds of structural changes outlined in §§1.2–5 and their scope mean that it is not appropriate to provide an historical survey of nominal (and adjectival) morphology which would suggest a continuity of structure from earliest Germanic to late OE. Rather, it is necessary to provide both an account of the Gmc system of inflexional morphology as it relates to the emergence of the OE forms and an account of how that system was restructured during the OE period. For this reason the sections on noun morphology are divided into two chapters, the first, chapter 2, dealing with the topic in terms of the Gmc system, the second, chapter 3, dealing with the OE restructuring of that system. For chapter 2 the principal data discussed will be from texts up to *c*.925, especially EWS or Alfredian texts, but also other major texts from other dialects of the same period, e.g. the Mercian gloss on the Vespasian Psalter, whilst for chapter 3 the principal data will be from texts of *c*.1000, especially LWS or Æthelwoldian and Ælfrician texts, but also major texts from other dialects such as the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels.[1] This approach is not used in dealing with the morphology of adjectives, since their development can in these respects be related to that in nouns.

[1] For discussion of the dialects and their texts, see Hogg (1992b: §§1.7–10).

1.7 One unfortunate consequence of this methodology is that OE nouns may be classified as belonging to two (or more)[1] declensions, according to whether membership relates to the Gmc or OE inflexional system. However, it is hoped that the context of discussion will be sufficiently clear to avoid confusion.

[1] As will be observed in chs. 2–3, nouns could, because of class transfer during the period, belong to more than one declension within either structure.

1.8 Although the OE pronominal system can be traced back to PIE, it is not possible to give a coherent overview of pronouns' morphological structure as a whole. From a morphological point of view the core members of the pronoun system are the demonstrative pronouns, i.e. OE *sē*, *sēo*, *þæt*, to which are closely related the interrogative pronouns *hwā*, *hwæt* and the anaphoric (third person) pronouns *hē*, *hēo*, *hit*. These pronouns share some morphology with strong adjectives, see §§1.5, 4.9–13. The personal pronouns *iċ* 'I', *þū* 'thou' have quite different morphological systems, but the possessive adjectives derived from the genitive of the personal pronouns, e.g. *mīn* 'my', decline as strong adjectives.

1.9 The characteristically Gmc distinction between strong and weak verbs is one which is well maintained during the OE period. Although the formation of strong verbs had its origins in PIE, Gmc developed a somewhat different structure which persisted into OE. The crucial characteristic of the Gmc system was the replacement of aspectual categories by a binary opposition between present and preterite tense, a distinction which was indicated in the inherited primary verbs by vowel gradation or ablaut. Derived or secondary verbs in PIE had present-tense forms only, and the major innovation in Gmc was the development of preterite forms through the addition of a dental suffix. This Gmc innovation of two distinct types of preterite, one formed by IE ablaut, the other by the addition of a new dental suffix, creates the typological distinction between strong and weak verbs. In OE the strong verbs maintained the Gmc system of marking tense and person by vowel variation, albeit in a simplified and obscured form, but the weak verbs, in parallel to the majority of nouns, gradually shifted from a root-based to a stem-based method of conjugation. In OE this did not have quite the same dramatic morphological consequences as the parallel nominal shift, and therefore the development of verbs is discussed within a single framework.

1.10 Alongside these major classes of verbs there existed a small group of preterite-present verbs. Such verbs formed their present tense according to the system for the preterite of strong verbs, and then formed a new preterite by the addition of a dental suffix. A small number of other verbs of very high frequency, *bēon* 'be', *willan* 'will', *dōn* 'do', *gān* 'go', reflecting, for the most part, the ancient class of athematic verbs, by the time of OE have to be classed simply as irregular.

1.11 The morphology of OE prepositions and conjunctions is not sufficiently complex to warrant separate treatment in a grammar such as this; some brief remarks about them will be found in §§4.76, 5.4n2. This grammar is, moreover, chiefly concerned with inflexional morphology, though some attention to various aspects of compounding may be found in the places just cited and in §§3.144–7. To keep the treatment of morphology within manageable proportions and a coherent framework, it has proved necessary to exclude other word-formation issues that might have been pursued, such as the synchronic status of the distinction between roots and affixes, and between affixes and inflexions, the productivity of individual morphemes, and headedness in compounding, among many others.

1.12 There are few handbooks in English which provide a survey of Gmc inflexional morphology, and Prokosch (1939) remains the most valuable of these. Brief guides may be found in Bammesberger (1984a, 1992a), and

Wright (1954) offers a full survey of Gothic. On verbs, valuable information may be found in Fullerton (1977) and Mailhammer (2007), the latter on strong verbs only. The choice in German remains much wider, including such major texts as Streitberg (1896), Hirt (1932) and Krahe and Meid (1969), which are frequently supplemented by works on individual topics such as Bammesberger (1990a) for nouns, Seebold (1970) for strong verbs and Bammesberger (1986b) and Rix (2001) for verbs in general. Markey, Kyes and Roberge (1977) offers a comprehensive bibliography on all topics relevant to Gmc, Seymour (1968) on word formation. Specifically on OE, the historical bibliographies of Tajima (1988) and Fisiak (1987) are valuable. For more recent bibliographical information, the annual *Linguistic Bibliography / Bibliographie Linguistique* is most comprehensive; more current are the annual bibliographies in the journals *Anglo-Saxon England* and *Old English Newsletter*, the latter also on line at <http://www.oenewsletter.org/>. Some useful introductions to Indo-European backgrounds are Lehmann (1993), Beekes (1995), Szemerényi (1996), Meier-Brügger (2003), Mallory and Adams (2006), Clackson (2007) and Fortson (2010).

2

Nouns: Stem Classes

I Early backgrounds

2.1 In PIE, nouns were formed by the addition of inflexions either to a thematic stem, i.e. a stem that ended in the theme vowel that appeared as *_o_ or *_e_, or to an athematic stem, i.e. one lacking the theme vowel. Thus is reconstructed thematic acc.sg. *_Héḱw-o-m_ ‘horse’, comprising a stem made of root *_Héḱw-_ plus theme vowel *_-o-_, to which was added the inflexion *_-m_, whilst athematic acc.sg. *_péd-m̥_ ‘foot’ lacks the connecting theme vowel, with the result that the inflexion *_-m_ becomes syllabic, on a purely allophonic basis. The athematic stems may add the inflexions directly to the root (i.e., the stem comprises solely a root, without any suffix or theme vowel), in a sub-class called root stems, of which *_péd-_ is an example, or the stem may be formed by the addition of one or more suffixes to the root, for example *_pH̥-tér-_ ‘father’.[1] Hence, we have the following possible combinations in nouns in the accusative singular:

root + inflexion, e.g.:	*_Haig-m̥_ ‘oak’
root + theme vowel + inflexion, e.g.:	*_weǵh-o-m_ ‘way’
root + suffix + inflexion, e.g.:	*_dhǵhm̥-on-m̥_ ‘man’
root + suffix + theme vowel + inflexion, e.g.:	*_penk_^{w}_-r-o-m_ ‘finger’

and similar constructions in which there is more than one suffix attached to the root, as in *_mr̥-t-r-o-m_ ‘murder’. Already in late PIE certain sound changes were beginning to obscure the distinctions amongst the categories root, suffix, theme and inflexion, causing the agglutinative morphological structures of earlier PIE to become fusional, and this process continued in PGmc, where there tended to be reanalysis of stems and inflexions, such that in the thematic stems the theme vowel melded with the inflexion: e.g., PIE theme *_-o-_ plus nom.sg.masc. inflexion *_-s_ produced the unified PGmc

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inflexion **-az*.[2,3] The result was that in PGmc the inflexions added to the stem were no longer the same in each type of noun, but they varied from one stem class to another, e.g. nom.sg. masc. **-az* in what had originally been thematic stems, **-iz* in what had been athematic stems ending in *-i-*, **-uz* in what had been athematic stems ending in *-u-*, and so forth.[4] With the theme vowel incorporated into the inflexion, in Gmc it is no longer entirely apposite to refer to thematic and athematic stems,[5] and a more useful distinction (though not an entirely logical one) is that between vocalic and consonantal stems. As a result of the fusion of inflexions with stem endings in PGmc, the traditional terminology that identifies the various Gmc stem types as *a*-stems, *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, and so forth, is somewhat illogical, since *a*, *ō* and *i* were no longer part of the stem but of the inflexion, and such terminology must therefore be understood in diachronic perspective as referring to elements that had at an earlier time distinguished the stem types rather than the different sets of inflexions.[6] For a full survey of PGmc noun morphology, see Bammesberger (1990a), also Ringe (2006: 168–80).

[1] On this analysis, by 'suffix' is meant any material that appears between the root and the inflexion; the theme vowel is thus, technically, a suffix. For an overview of PIE noun declension, see Szemerényi (1996: §§7.1–7), or any of the handbooks of PIE mentioned in §1.12.

[2] PIE **o* regularly produces Gmc *a*, and PIE final **s* after an unstressed vowel gives PGmc **z*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.4).

[3] This metanalysis has its basis in a variety of sound changes in early Gmc. One is the loss of final **-m* after an unstressed vowel, which is then nasalized, e.g. in PIE acc.sg.masc. **-o-m* > PGmc **-ã*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.10), with the result that there remains nothing of the original inflexion but the nasal quality of the vowel, so that what was originally the theme vowel had now to be regarded as the inflexion. Similarly, PIE locative **-e-y/-o-y* developed to a unitary phoneme in PGmc, a monophthong **-ī* and a diphthong **-ai*, respectively. Also, although [u] and [w] were allophones of a single phoneme in PIE, as were [i] and [j], the distinction was phonemicized over time, so that, for example, in the PGmc masc. *u*-stems the alternative stem-endings **-u-* in the nom.sg., **-eu-* in the gen.sg. and **-ew-* in the nom.pl. were no longer analysable as phonologically conditioned variants, and each had to be regarded as part of a fixed inflexional ending.

[4] On this process of reanalysis of root, suffix and inflexion in Gmc, see Erdmann (1974) and Werner (1984). The former points out that in OE, stem classes may be defined in part by the types of inflexions added, in part by vowel alternations in the root (or stem, it may be added).

[5] Confusingly, following some older analyses, Campbell (1977: §620) uses the term 'athematic' to refer solely to the sub-class of root-stems. This is done on the assumption that 'theme' refers to whatever suffix is used as the class-marking stem formative, e.g. **-i-* in *i*-stems, **-nd-* in *nd*-stems, and so forth, and in that sense root-stems are the only athematic nouns, lacking any 'theme' (i.e. suffix) between root and inflexion. But the term 'thematic' in IE linguistics now regularly refers to classes of words formed with the thematic vowel **e/o* and no other class. Even PIE **-ā-* in the commonest fem. class is suffixal in origin (**e/o* plus laryngeal consonant, to which inflexions were added directly), though some scholars refer to the Gmc *a*- and *ō*-stems (reflecting the PIE *o*- and *ā*-stems, respectively) as together comprising the thematic classes, e.g. Erdmann

(1974: 17), perpetuating an analysis of PIE prevalent before the discovery of laryngeal consonants, on which see §6.34n6. Thus, it will be less confusing if ‘athematic’ is understood to refer to all classes other than PIE *o*-stems. In that event, the term has little relevance to specifically Gmc linguistics.

[6] It would perhaps be more logical to abandon the practice of referring to Gmc ‘stem’ types, because in Gmc often it is no longer the stem ending that is distinctive but the class of inflexions attached to the stem. Yet even if one referred to ‘*a*-nouns’, ‘*ō*-nouns’, etc., as does Campbell (1977), instead of *a*-stems, *ō*-stems, there would remain the inconsistency that, in PGmc at least, some classes are identified by the type of inflexion they take (*a*-nouns, *ō*-nouns, etc., see §2.2) and others by the stem ending (*nd*-nouns, etc.). The distinctions amongst Gmc *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, etc., are synchronically useful, and yet, as the most effective way of distinguishing the inflexional types, such terms are necessarily diachronic in nature. The discrepancy is addressed in this book, in part, by presenting a diachronic perspective in the present chapter and a relatively synchronic one in the next, as a companion to the present analysis.

2.2 Amongst vocalic stems, the vocalic element transferred from the stem to the inflexion by metanalysis could in early PGmc be any of four different vowels, namely */a, oː, i, u/, and this led to four major declensions or noun-classes,[1] namely *a*-stems,[2] *ō*-stems, *i*-stems and *u*-stems. In the first two classes, the stem-final vowel could be preceded by */j/[3] or */w/, leading to the sub-classes of *ja*-, *wa*-stems and *jō*-, *wō*-stems. The other two vocalic classes originally paralleled each other in inflexion, having been distinguished only by metanalysed vowel, which was /i/ or /u/. The principal consonantal class bore a suffix ending in */n/ and hence is known as the class of *n*-stems. Within the *n*-stems there was originally in Gmc a distinction between nouns in which *n* was preceded by **-ō-*, hence *ōn*-stems, and a small group of feminine abstracts in which *-n-* was preceded by **-ī-*, hence *īn*-stems. The distinction is plain in Gothic, e.g. *tuggō*, gen. *tuggōns* ‘tongue’: *managei*, gen. *manageins* ‘multitude’. For the history of the latter in OE, see further §§2.88–90. In addition to *n*-stems there were, however, other, less frequent consonantal nouns with PIE stems ending in */r/, */s/, */t/ and */n/ + dental stop, which give rise to Gmc *r*-stems, *s*-stems (or *z*-stems),[4] *þ*-stems and *nd*-stems.[5] Naturally, there is no subdivision of the root-stems.

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[1] In order to distinguish the historical origins and affiliations of nouns from the synchronic properties discussed in ch. 3, we use the term (*stem-*)*class* for the historical morphological structure and the term *declension* for the synchronic structure.

[2] *a*-stems are sometimes called *o*-stems, because PGmc */a/ derives from PIE */o/. Similarly, *ō*-stems are sometimes called *ā*-stems, since they had PIE */ɑː/ > PGmc */oː/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3). Unsurprisingly, confusion can occur, but in the context of OE it is preferable to use the nomenclature associated with the development of the vowels in Gmc rather than in the original PIE system. For the contrary view, see Prokosch (1939: 227), Brunner (1965: §235).

[3] */j/ > */ij/ by Sievers’s Law in PGmc, see Hogg (1992b: §4.6).

[4] The *s*-stems are occasionally referred to as *z*-stems, since the PIE **s* of the suffix, where it survives in NWGmc, is reflected as *r* (or runic ʀ) < **z*. Since **z* is never reflected as such outside of Gothic, the term ‘*z*-stems’ seems no more desirable than ‘*s*-stems’.

[5] If the *n*-stems are called weak nouns, see §1.2n4, then the other consonantal stems are usually classed as minor declensions. This latter term is used differently in this work to refer to synchronic declensions whose membership consists of a closed set, see §3.4.

2.3 There was a correlation between grammatical gender and stem class in PGmc which was to continue into the OE period.[1,2] Thus, in PGmc, *a*-stems were either masculine or neuter; *ō*-stems were all feminine; *i*-stems could be of any gender, as could *u*-stems, the consonantal *n*-stems, possibly the root-stems,[3] and the rare examples of *þ*-stems. In all of the relevant stem types except the *a*-stems, the number of neuters was small and continued to decline up to and throughout the OE period and beyond.[4] *r*-stems are distinguished in PGmc and OE by the fact that they are nouns of relationship, and hence they are either masculine or feminine on grounds of natural gender. The majority of *nd*-stems derive from an old pres.part. formation and are masculine, but there is a small minority of feminine *nd*-stems, mostly of a learned nature, see further §2.104. Finally, *s*-stems could be at least masculine or neuter, although only neuter forms survive as recognizable *s*-stems in OE.

[1] On the origins and development of the PIE gender system, see Szemerényi (1996: §7.1.2 and references).

[2] But during the OE period there begin to emerge plain signs of the subordination of gender to case assignment, most particularly in Nbr. This topic is discussed in §3.139.

[3] On the absence of root-stem neuters in Gmc also, see Bammesberger (1990a: 188; and 205–6 regarding Got *fōn* 'fire'). Like Campbell (1977: §622n2), we find no unambiguous trace of the alleged neuter dat.sg. **sċrȳd* 'garment'. PsGl(K) 21.19 has *sċrȳd* acc.pl., but this is a text in which <u> is confused with <y>, see Sisam and Sisam (1959: §49).

[4] There are no neuter *u*-stems in OE, although the indeclinable WS *fela* 'many' reflects an oblique form of a member of the *u*-stem class, whilst Angl *feolu*, *feolo* is from the nom.acc.sg.

2.4 It is possible to reconstruct eight distinct cases in PIE: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, locative and ablative. In the historical Gmc languages, however, just four cases are regularly found in noun classes: nominative, accusative, genitive and dative.[1] In respect of the dative, the inflexional endings are the result of a selection from dative, instrumental and locative forms, see further §§2.16–17, 2.43.[2] On the preservation of separate instrumental forms in the adjective and pronoun, see §§4.9, 4.17, 5.7, 5.10.

[1] But the instrumental case was plainly present in PGmc and persists in adjectival and pronominal paradigms, see G. Anderson (1958), Bammesberger (1994). In Gothic, the vocative is formally identical to the accusative.

[2] It is important not to equate the PIE dative with the PGmc/OE dative either morphologically or syntactically. See further Lass (1991).

2.5 Even in PGmc, for nouns there was only a singular : plural contrast in number. On the prehistory of the dual see, for example, Hirt (1932: §11), Prokosch (1939: 229–30). On the preservation of dual number in personal pronouns, see §§5.23–31, and on its syntactic uses, see Mitchell (1985: §§257–9).

2.6 It is possible to reconstruct typical PGmc nominal paradigms to illustrate the discussion in §§2.1–5. We give only the reconstructed paradigm at an early stage of PGmc for **stain-* (> OE *stān*) 'stone' (m.) supplemented by **wurð-* (> OE *word*) 'word' for neuter forms:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*stainaz (*wurðam[1])	*stainōosez[2,3] (*wurðō)
Voc.	*staine	*stainōosez[2]
Acc.	*stainam[1]	*stainanz (*wurðō)
Gen.	*stainasa[4]	*stainō*om*[1,2]
Dat.	*staināai[2]	*stainomaz[5]
Instr.	*stainō	*stainomiz[5]
Loc.	*stainei	———
Abl.	*stainōo[2]	*stainomaz[5]

As may be observed, such forms mostly show the reflex of the PIE thematic vowel as Gmc */a/ or its lengthened equivalent */oː/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3). For the parallel structures in the other PGmc noun stems, see the relevant material in Bammesberger (1990a).

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[1] Final **-m* would be lost before the end of the PGmc period, with nasalization of the preceding vowel.

[2] The sequence **-ōo-* or **-āa-* indicates a trimoric vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §6.27&n1). It must be remembered, however, that **-ōo-* is an abstraction, not necessarily standing literally for a bimoric vowel followed by a monomoric one, but for whatever property characterized the vowels we call 'trimoric'. It is possible, for example, that trimoric vowels represent a pair of vowels of any quantity, separated by hiatus, see Fulk (1992: 152–3nn2–3) and Jasanoff (2003) for references. The development of dat.sg. **-āai* from PIE **-o-ey* suggests as much, since the *a*-quality of the diphthong presumes a short vowel, there having been no unstressed **ā* in PGmc.

[3] The nom.pl. ending **-ōosez* apparently results from contraction of PIE **-es* (the original ending, reflected in other classes in Gmc) with the thematic vowel **-o-*, resulting at first in **-ōos*. Because this did not resemble the ending found in other classes, **-es* was added once again by analogy, resulting in **-ōosez*. See further §2.8n2. Here the usual explanation is presented, although it is not unlikely that Jasanoff (2003: 22–3) is right that the contraction of PIE **-es* with thematic **-o-* produced a bimoric rather than a trimoric vowel.

[4] **-asa* would be reduced to **-as* before the end of the PGmc period, see Hogg (1992b: §3.28). It is to be assumed that stress fell on the first vowel of the ending, i.e. **-ása*. This prevents the voicing (and otherwise consequent loss) of */s/, see ibid.: §§4.4, 4.10. Ablaut alternations seem also to have placed a stressed vowel before the suffix in the PIE athematic classes, see Bammesberger (1990a: 24). The reconstruction of the gen.sg. inflexion is problematic. For references, see Seldeslachts (1992: 294–5).

[5] Although PIE **o* developed to Gmc *a*, preservation of *o* before *m* in medial syllables is a necessary assumption to account for the North and West Gmc dat.pl. ending *-um*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34).

2.7 Some impression of the relative importance of the various noun classes in the development of OE can be gleaned from the following statistics regarding the 100 most frequent nouns in OE.[1] These statistics suggest the number of nouns in each class which OE inherited from PGmc (and hence do not show, for example, later, specifically OE, class changes). The figures are as follows: *a*-stems 47 (22 masc., 25 neut.); *ja*-stems 6 (3 masc., 3 neut.); *wa*-stems 1 masc.; *ō*-stems: 7; *jō*-stems 6; *wō*-stems 1; *i*-stems 9 (3 masc., 6 fem.); *u*-stems 4 (3 masc., 1 fem.); *n*-stems 9 (4 masc., 1 neut., 4 fem.); *r*-stems 3 (2 masc., 1 fem.); *nd*-stems 2; root-stems 5 (2 masc., 3 fem.).[2] The most noteworthy point to be drawn from these statistics is the dominance of masc. and neut. vocalic stems, which account for 55–60% of the total, cf. n2.

[1] The figures which follow are derived from the frequency lists in the OE *Microfiche Concordance* (Healey and Venezky, 1980). Some adjustments have been made to allow for the occurrence of homonyms. RMH, however, tested the results sufficiently to suggest that they are fairly accurate. In order to allow readers to test the results for themselves, the nouns are listed in the discussion of each of the individual stem classes.

[2] These statistics may be compared with those in Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §25). Quirk and Wrenn suggest that over the total vocabulary the distribution is as follows: 'General Masculine' 35% (here 29%); 'General Neuter' 25% (28%); 'General Feminine' 25% (20%); '*-an* Declension' 15% (9%). The differences may be largely accounted for by the many 'irregular' nouns of high frequency, which account for 14% of nouns in the present count. Once this factor is taken into account, the figures are reasonably close. We must also reckon with the possibility that less frequently occurring nouns were, relatively speaking, over-represented in the '*an*-declension'.

2.8 The endings to be reconstructed for early PGmc *a*-stems are represented in §2.6, where all that follows the stem **stain-* (or **wurð-*) developed as an inflexion. In the case of the dat.sg., the picture is more complex because of the interaction of instrumental and locative forms, see §2.17 and further references therein. The endings of Gmc nouns of other classes differ in part because the Gmc reflexes of the PIE inflexions fused with stem-final elements other than the **a* that reflects the PIE thematic vowel. Because they incorporate the reflexes of the same PIE inflexions, however, certain similarities between the Gmc *a*-stem inflexions and the inflexions of other classes are observable, as will be demonstrated below in the discussion of individual classes. To make this plain, it will be useful to present here the reflexes of the PIE inflexions in the form they might be expected to take in early PGmc, before the widespread metanalysis of inflexions to incorporate stem endings. These might be expected to have appeared on all nouns except the *ō*-stems, which show a number of critical differences:[1]

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*-z, *-m (neut.)	*-ō̆sez,[2] *-Ø (neut.)[3]
Acc.	*-m	*-nz, *-Ø (neut.)
Gen.	*-sa	*-ōm[4]
Dat.	*-ai	*-miz

---

[1] There are exceptions to this statement, for example the nom.sg. of many consonantal stems, but these will be discussed at the relevant places, since they do not significantly detract from the generalization, see further §2.79.

[2] PGmc raising of */e/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.30), would regularly have given *-*ō̆siz* at a very early stage. The diacritic on *o* reflects uncertainty about how to represent separately the originally inflexional element of what had become a trimoric vowel, see §2.6n3.

[3] The ending *-*ō* in the nom.acc.pl.neut. in the *a*-stem paradigm given in §2.6 at this stage must be regarded as thematic. The etymological neuter inflexion proper was a laryngeal consonant.

[4] Most (though not all) IE languages reflect a gen.pl. ending with a long vowel even in athematic stems, where the length cannot be due to contraction of thematic vowel + inflexional vowel, except by analogical processes. Gmc is here assumed to have inherited a similar ending.

2.9 For feminine nouns, endings comparable to those laid out for masc. and neut. nouns in §2.8 (i.e., the reflexes of the PIE inflexions in the form they might be expected to have taken in early PGmc, before the widespread metanalysis of inflexions to incorporate stem endings) may be reconstructed as follows. These should be compared especially to the reconstructed *ō*-stem endings given in §2.38:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*-Ø	*-ez
Acc.	*-om	*-z[1]
Gen.	*-ō̆z	*-ōm
Dat.	*-ai	*-miz

In PIE these inflexions may have been more similar to those of §2.8, and the differences in large measure arose because of the influence of the preceding thematic element.

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[1] See Bammesberger (1990a: 105).

II Vocalic stems

1 a-*stem nouns*

2.10 Nouns belonging to this class were either masculine or neuter. Differences in inflexion between the two genders were in PGmc restricted to the nom.sg. and the nom. and acc.pl.; in OE such differences persisted only in the nom.acc.pl. As outlined in §2.2, there were two sub-types in this class, *ja-* and *wa*-stems. Simple *a*-stems are discussed in §§2.11–18, *ja*-stems in §§2.19–26, and *wa*-stems in §§2.27–33.

(a) Simple a-*stems*

2.11 In Early West Saxon, *a*-stems typically were inflected according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	
Singular		**Light**	**Heavy**
Nom.	stān *stone*	sċip *ship*	word *word*
Acc.	stān	sċip	word
Gen.	stānes	sċipes	wordes
Dat.	stāne	sċipe	worde
Plural			
Nom.	stānas	sċipu	word
Acc.	stānas	sċipu	word
Gen.	stāna	sċipa	worda
Dat.	stānum	sċipum	wordum

As can be seen, there are clear differences in the nom.acc.pl. between light- and heavy-stemmed neuters, see also §2.12. Further, these are the only inflexions which distinguish the neuter *a*-stems from the masc. *a*-stems. Light-stemmed masc. nouns such as *wer* have the same set of forms as heavy stems such as *stān*.

2.12 This class has an extremely large membership, which prohibits a listing of the relevant nouns.[1] However, amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *a*-stems occur:

(a) masc.: *apostol* ‘apostle’, *bisċop* ‘bishop’, *Crīst* ‘Christ’, *cyning* ‘king’, *dæġ* ‘day’, *dēofol* ‘devil’,[2] *dīċ* ‘ditch’,[3] *dōm* ‘judgement’, *drihten* ‘lord’, *enġel* ‘angel’, *god* ‘god’,[4] *heofon* ‘heaven’, *hlāf* ‘bread’, *hlāford* ‘lord’, *hund* ‘dog’, *middanġeard* ‘earth’, *mūþ* ‘mouth’, *prēost* ‘priest’, *stān* ‘stone’, *þeġn* ‘thane’, *weġ* ‘way’, *wer* ‘man’;

(b) neut.: *bearn* 'child', *bebod* 'command', *ġebed* 'prayer', *blōd* 'blood', *folc* 'people', *fȳr* 'fire', *gāst* 'spirit',[5] *ġēar* 'year', *godspell* 'gospel', *hēafod* 'head', *hūs* 'house', *land* 'land', *lēoht* 'light', *līf* 'life', *lof* 'praise', *mōd* 'mind', *mynster* 'monastery',[6] *þinġ* 'thing', *weorc* 'work', *wīf* 'woman', *wæter* 'water', *word* 'word', *wuldor* 'glory', *wundor* 'wonder', *yfel* 'evil'.

[1] Kastovsky (1995: 232) estimates that 60% of OE nouns were thus declined.

[2] But also neut. in the sg., e.g. CP(H) 415 (3×) *ðæt dīoful*, and regularly neut. in the pl., hence nom.pl. *dīoflu*, *dīofla*, cf. *god* and n3. See also §3.138.

[3] But in charters, where the noun most frequently occurs, it is often fem. and *dīċ* dat.sg. is often found alongside *dīċe*, see §§3.135, 143.

[4] Occasionally (but not in Ælfric) neut.pl. to distinguish pagan gods from the Christian deity, as in Or 24.12, see §3.138.

[5] Originally an *s*-stem, see §2.95ff.

[6] Originally a *ja*-stem, see §2.20n1.

2.13 The paradigm of the *a*-stem *stān* may be traced back to a late PGmc paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*stainaz (neut. *wurðã[1])	*stainōosiz (neut. *wurðō)
Acc.	*stainã[1]	*stainanz (neut. *wurðō)
Gen.	*stainas	*stainōõ[1]
Dat.	*staināai	*stainomiz

Most of these forms show the regular development of the PGmc forms cited in §2.6, but dat.pl. *-omiz* may be instrumental in origin, see Bammesberger (1990a: 45–6).

[1] See §2.6n1 on the loss of **-m*.

2.14 The regular phonological development of the forms cited above would produce a Pre-Old English[1] paradigm of the following type, except in the acc.pl.masc., for discussion of which see immediately below:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*stain (*word)	*stainōs (*wordu)
Acc.	*stain (*word)	*stainōs (*wordu)
Gen.	*stainas	*stainō̃
Dat.	*stainǣ	*stainum

The acc.pl. masc. inflexion must be explained as due to syncretism, with the inflexion of the nom.pl. having been extended to the acc.pl., see for example Campbell (1977: §571), Bammesberger (1990a: 46).[2]

[1] The term Pre-Old English (Pre-OE) is used here to refer to a time when all the PGmc and WGmc changes discussed in Hogg (1992b: chs 3–4) had occurred. It is a variable term, sometimes referring to so early a stage as that in which we find a system of unstressed vowels of the type outlined in Hogg (1992b: §6.1), prior to first fronting and associated changes, both in stressed and unstressed syllables. At other times it may refer to later, though still prehistoric, stages in the development of OE.

[2] A similar syncretism occurs in OHG also, where the common inflexion is *-a*, see Wagner (1986). This OHG parallel, together with the voiced nature of final *-*z* in the PGmc acc.pl., renders it unlikely that the syncretism is almost entirely the result of normal phonological processes, as advocated by Prokosch (1939: §79i–k).

2.15 The paradigm presented immediately above leads in most elements directly to the EWS paradigm given in §2.11. Only the following inflexions require comment:

gen.sg.: */a/ > /æ/ by first fronting (Hogg 1992b: §6.2) and later merger with /e/ (ibid.: §6.48).

dat.sg.: NWGmc */ai/ is monophthongized to */aː/ > */æː/ (ibid.: §6.27(4)), which is shortened to /æ/ (ibid.: §6.28), which later merges with /e/, as above.

nom.acc.pl.masc., **gen.pl.**: */oː/ was shortened and lowered to /ɑ/ (ibid.: §6.28).

nom.acc.pl.neut.: Word-final */u/ was subject to apocope after heavy syllables (ibid.: §6.20) to give *word*, etc. but after light syllables it remained, hence *sċipu*, etc. This variation in inflexion also arose in disyllabic stems such as *hēafod* ‘head’ vs. *werod* ‘troop’, which have in LWS nom.pl. *hēafdu*, *werod* respectively, see ibid.: §§6.20, 24, but cf. §3.64 in the present volume on the historical situation of which this is an analogical refashioning. Such stems are prone to reanalysis during OE, see the discussion of the synchronic morphology in §§3.56ff.

2.16 The earliest OE texts have many spellings reflecting the earlier forms of the gen. and dat.sg. inflexions postulated in §2.15. Thus, for the gen.sg., eNbr texts such as CædH, BDS, RuthCr and the eMerc glossaries EpGl and ErfGl, together with a number of charters, all have frequent forms with inflexional *-æs*; for further examples both of this and of the equivalent dat.sg. inflexion *-æ*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.49). By the time of the EWS texts such early forms had been lost without significant exceptions.

2.17 In early texts, mostly before *c.*800, there are a number of forms in both masc. and neut. nouns which appear to demonstrate the existence of an instrumental case. These forms show an instr.sg. ending in *-i*, e.g. EpGl, ErfGl 83, CorpGl 230 *fācni* ‘cunning’, EpGl84, CorpGl 155 *hraeċli*, *hræġli* ‘cloak’, EpGl, ErfGl 869, CorpGl 1720 *spelli* ‘story’, EpGl, ErfGl 699, CorpGl 1450 *werċi* 'work'.[1] Despite their instrumental meaning, such forms must regularly derive from an original locative form, cf. loc. **stainei* (> **stainī*) in §2.6, also Bammesberger (1994).[2] It is notable that in these forms /i/ does not cause *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel except in the adverbial forms *ǣne* 'once', *hwēne* 'a little', see Hogg (1992b: §5.85(3)&n3), also §2.18n3 in the present volume. The forms are curious but nevertheless seem to prove the existence of an instr.sg. in the earliest period.[3,4] Additionally, RuthCr *blōdæ* 'blood' is usually analysed as an instr.sg., most recently by Bammesberger (1994: 102–3), but its origins, if genuine, are difficult, and the form is not entirely trustworthy because of the merger of unstressed /æ/ and /e/, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.48–9), similarly Wrenn (1943), King (1986: 77), Lass (1991).

[1] ErfGl 845 *ueġi* 'way' contrasts with EpGl *uuaega*, CorpGl 1700 *wega*.

[2] RuneThornhill 3 *on berġi* 'on a mound' shows apparently the same inflexion but with the original locative meaning. EpGl 494 *thys ġēri* 'in this year' is a temporal locative.

[3] On the persistence of unstressed /i/ up to 800, see Hogg (1992b: §6.53). The unstressed /i/ is not lost through syncope because at that time it was long, according to Hogg (ibid.: §6.28), though it should be assumed that *-i* was restored analogically after heavy stems if *ī* was shortened before high vowel syncope, as argued by Bliss (1967: 113–17), see Fulk (1992: §§187–93).

[4] CP(H) 101.16, Dream 63 *hēafdum* 'head', both with locative meaning, appear to show a fossilized instr.sg. form in *-um*, which may be traceable back to PIE. Apparently parallel forms are *meolcum*, Angl *milcum*, which appear both as instr. and loc., and *nosum*, both particularly frequent in Bald's *Leechbook*. For early discussion of these forms, see Cosijn (1882), Kluge (1891: 386), Brugmann (1903: §469.2), and for a more recent useful discussion with extensive references see Grant (1991), as well as Bammesberger (2001). The oddity of these forms and their distribution has never been fully explained, but the inflexion may signify an adverbial-like function.

2.18 Locative forms with zero inflexion are particularly frequent in compound place-names of the type *-hām -wīċ*, see Dahl (1938: 50, 61–2) for examples, less frequently in other words, e.g. *-mynster*, *-stān*, *-tūn*, *-þorp*, see also §2.12n2. The same forms are regular with uncompounded *hām* 'home'.[1] Temporal nouns such as *ǣfen* 'evening', *dæġ* 'day', *morgen* 'morning' also show an endingless locative, especially in the phrases *on ǣfen, on dæġ*, *todæġ*, *on morgen*. During the OE period the endingless construction is gradually extended to other phrases such as *ǣlċe dæġ* 'every day',[2] which may suggest an idiomatization of the form, see Girvan (1931: §262a4).[3] The origin of this endingless locative is disputed, but it may be that it is from a variant PIE locative **-ē*, which would develop as **-æ* in Pre-OE. It is then necessary to suppose that this final **-æ* would be subject to apocope, cf. Hogg (1992b: §6.20). But if **-ī* was shortened before high vowel apocope, see §2.17n3, at least some of the endingless forms may be true etymological locatives. For discussion of this difficulty and further references, see Dahl (1938: 51–5).

[1] The only possible example of *æt hāme* ‘at home’ is at JnGl(Li, Ru) 11.20, where it is more likely that the dat.sg. has been substituted. It may be that *dīċ* dat.sg. is a further example, but see §2.12n3.

[2] Thus, CP has 5 examples of *ǣlċe dæġe*, 2 of *ǣlċe dæġ*, whilst ÆCHom has 1 of the former, 4 of the latter.

[3] Or (4×) *on merġen* shows *i*-umlaut of the root vowel, which may be related to the adverbial forms discussed in §2.17, although the connexion is difficult. The same form is regular in Ælfric, and the parallel form *on mærġen* is regular in lNbr.

(b) ja-*stems*

2.19 In EWS, *ja*-stems typically were inflected according to paradigms of the following types:

	Masculine		**Neuter**	
	Light	**Heavy**	**Light**	**Heavy**
Singular				
Nom.	seċġ *man*	ende *end*	cynn *race*	wīte *punishment*
Acc.	seċġ	ende	cynn	wīte
Gen.	seċġes	endes	cynnes	wītes
Dat.	seċġe	ende	cynne	wīte
Plural				
Nom.	seċġas	endas	cynn	wītu
Acc.	seċġas	endas	cynn	wītu
Gen.	seċġa	enda	cynna	wīta
Dat.	seċġum	endum	cynnum	wītum

In these stems there are clear distinctions between originally light-stemmed and originally heavy-stemmed nouns of both genders and in both nom.acc.sg. and nom.acc.pl. For variations in the declension of polysyllabic nouns, see §§3.56ff. A further distinction occurs between light-stemmed nouns such as *seċġ* and light-stemmed nouns which have final *-r*, for their inflexion in EWS is as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	here *army*	herġas, heras
Acc.	here	herġas, heras
Gen.	herġes, heres	herġa
Dat.	herġe, here	herġum

2.20 This class has a fairly large membership, of which by far the largest subgroup is that of agentive nouns with the suffix *-ere*, e.g. *bæcere* ‘baker’, *bōcere* ‘scribe’, *leornere* ‘disciple’, *sċipere* ‘sailor’, *sċōere* ‘shoemaker’, and many others. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *ja*-stems occur:

(a) masc. (i) light: *here* ‘army’, *cāsere* ‘emperor’;[1] (ii) heavy: *ende* ‘end’;
(b) neut.: (i) light: *cynn* ‘nation’; (ii) heavy: *rīċe* ‘kingdom’, *wīte* ‘punishment’.

Other examples include nouns such as: (a(i)): *bridd* ‘bird’, *hryċġ* ‘ridge’, *hyll* ‘hill’, *weċġ* ‘wedge’; (a(ii)): *esne* ‘servant’, *hwǣte* ‘wheat’, *hyrde* ‘shepherd’, *lǣċe* ‘physician’, *mēċe* ‘sword’; (b(i)): *bedd* ‘bed’, *nebb* ‘beak’, *nett* ‘net’, *webb* ‘web’, *wedd* ‘pledge’, *wiċġ* ‘horse’; (b(ii)): *ǣrende* ‘message’, *stȳle* ‘steel’, *wǣġe* ‘weight’, *yrfe* ‘inheritance’.[2]

[1] From Lat. *Caesar*. The *-ere* is reanalysed in OE as the agentive suffix discussed immediately above. But, conversely, *mynster* < Lat. *monasterium*, where no agentive function may be supposed, transferred to the *a*-stems.

[2] Also to be included here are *fliċċe* ‘flitch’, *styċċe* ‘piece’, where the geminate consonant is not due to WGmc gemination but is of earlier origin.

2.21 Certain processes of affixation are associated with *ja*-stems. Thus, there are two further suffixes in addition to *-ere*: *-en*(*n*) (< WGmc **-innja*, **-unnja*), and *-et*(*t*) (< PGmc **-atja*, **-itja*), both of which form mainly neut. nouns; additionally, the prefix *ġe-* is added to a large number of neut. collectives formed with the PGmc suffix **-ja-*. Typical examples of these types are:[1] *ǣfen* ‘evening’ (also masc.), *fæsten* ‘fortress’, *fæsten* ‘fast’, *wēsten* ‘desert’ (also fem., see §3.136); *bærnet* ‘arson’, *līġet* ‘lightning’ (also masc.),[2] *nyrwet* ‘narrowness’, *rēwet* ‘rowing’, *sǣwet* ‘sowing’, *þēowet* ‘slavery’ (masc.), *þiċċet* ‘thicket’; *ġefylċe* ‘troop’, *ġescȳ* ‘pair of shoes’, *ġetimbre* ‘building’, *ġeþēode* ‘language’, *ġewǣde* ‘dress’, and many others.[3]

[1] On the usual absence of gemination in nom.acc.sg. of nouns with suffixal *-enn*, *-ett*, see §3.40. On the derivation of nouns in *-ett* from verbs of weak class I, see Wissmann (1975: 55–7).

[2] See further §2.47(4) on this noun as a fem. *jō*-stem.

[3] Campbell (1977: §647n2) would include here *īren* ‘iron’, gen.pl. *īrenna*; but more likely this is an *a*-stem with assimilation of **-zn-* to **-nn-*, see Seebold (1984: 54). Adjective forms lacking the geminate, e.g. PsGl(A) *īrenu*, are then to be assumed to show a different assimilation, of **-s-z-* to **-z-*. On the dialect distribution of *īsern* and *īren*, see Kleinman (1997).

2.22 The inflexion of light-stemmed masc. *ja*-stem nouns can be exemplified by a PGmc paradigm which parallels that of the simple *a*-stems but with */j/ preceding the inflexional vowel. This */j/, however, would have been */ij/ after a heavy syllable by the process known as Sievers’s Law, see Hogg (1992b: §4.6). Hence, we can reconstruct the following late PGmc paradigms for masc. *ja*-stem nouns:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	*saʒjaz	*andijaz
Acc.	*saʒjã	*andijã
Gen.	*saʒjas	*andijas
Dat.	*saʒjāai	*andijāai
Plural		
Nom.	*saʒjōosez	*andijōosez
Acc.	*saʒjanz	*andijanz
Gen.	*saʒjōõ	*andijōõ
Dat.	*saʒjomiz	*andijomiz

The inflexion of neut. nouns differed only in the nom.sg., which was identical to the acc.sg., e.g. *_kunjam_, *_wītijam_, and the nom.acc.pl., e.g. *_kunjō_, *_wītijō_.

2.23 The expected development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type parallel to the simple _a_-stems:

	Light	Heavy
Singular		
Nom.	*saʒi (*kunni)	*andī (*wītī)
Acc.	*saggi (*kunni)	*andī (*wītī)
Gen.	*saggjas	*andijas
Dat.	*saggjai	*andijai
Plural		
Nom.	*saggjōs (*kunnju)	*andijōs (*wītiju)
Acc.	*saggjōs[1] (*kunnju)	*andijōs[1] (*wītiju)
Gen.	*saggjō̃	*andijō̃
Dat.	*saggjum	*andijum

The suggested development above implies that nom.sg. *_-az_ was lost before the time of WGmc gemination, giving *_sagjaz_ > *_sagi_ but that acc.sg. *_-ã_ remained until after gemination, giving *_sagjã_ > *_saggjã_ > *_saggi_. It is noteworthy, however, that **_seġe_, the expected reflex of *_sagi_, never occurs in OE, the nom.sg. always being of the type _seċġ_, the development proper to the acc.sg. under this account. We must therefore assume, with Dahl (1938: 81–6), that only *_-az_ was lost prior to gemination and that acc.sg. _seċġ_, neut.sg. _cynn_ are regular forms, with the masc.nom.sg. re-formed with a final geminate on the analogy of syncretism of nom.acc.sg. in the simple _a_-stems, see also Hogg (1979: 68–73) and the discussion of the synchronic status of masc. _i_-stems in §§3.43–4. Alternatively, one might suggest, following Campbell (1977: §576), see also Dal (1934), that both inflexions were lost prior to gemination, in which event all geminated forms in the nom.acc.sg. would be re-formations from the oblique forms or the plural.

[1] The inflexion **-ōs* is extended analogically from the nom.pl., see §2.14.

2.24 The paradigms presented above, together with the assumption of syncretism in the nom.acc.sg., lead for the most part directly to the EWS paradigms presented in §2.19. However, the development of the original heavy stems and also of original light stems in *-r* requires special attention:[1]

(a) In the heavy stems the different developments of three types of inflexion are difficult: (i) **andī > ende* nom.acc.sg.; (ii) **andijas > endes* gen.sg., similarly dat.sg.pl. and nom.acc.pl.masc.; (iii) **wītiju > wītu* nom.acc.pl.neut., similarly gen.pl. In regard to (i), after the loss of **-az* from **andijaz*, final **-ij* became **-ī*,[2] but medial **-ij-* remained in the other cases, see Hogg (1992b: §6.27(2)). In regard to (ii) and (iii), in explanation of the attested forms it has been proposed that high vowel apocope was earlier than high vowel syncope, see ibid.: §§6.22, 25, with the consequence that high vowel apocope applies vacuously in such forms. Under the prescriptions of ibid.: §6.22 we might then assume **andijas > *endjæs > endes* and **wītiju > *wītju > wītu*. But on the older view of Sievers (1898: §177), **j* was lost in **wītiju*, and subsequently **wītiu* developed to **wītju*, in which **j* would have been lost just the way **j* of other origins was lost after a heavy syllable, e.g. in **kunnju*. Sievers's view is easier to reconcile with the historical facts about the interaction of high vowel syncope and apocope, as presented in §3.64, implying that **wītiju* need not have been subject to these processes at all: see the discussion in Fulk (2010c).[3]

(b) The predicted development of light-stemmed nouns such as *here* would produce forms with /j/ before an inflexional vowel, thus *herġes, herġe, herġas, herġa*. Although forms of this type can be found in EWS, they are already being replaced by forms without /j/, i.e. *heres*, etc. For details and discussion of this synchronic restructuring see §§3.47–9.

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[1] See §2.15 on the development of unstressed vowels in this sub-class.

[2] On whether this **-ī*, after shortening, would have remained or been apocopated and then restored analogically, see §2.17n3.

[3] The explanation for the type *cynn* nom.acc.pl. < **kunnju* remains uncertain, see further Hogg (1992b: §6.25). Possibly **kunnju > *kynnj > cynn*. Such an assumption need not conflict with the reconstruction **sagjã > *saggjã > *saggi* offered in §2.23, since the loss of **-ã* was presumably earlier than high vowel apocope, resulting in syllabification of final **-j* in one instance and not the other. Alternatively, and perhaps

more plausibly, it may be supposed that post-consonantal **-j-* was lost continuously in the prehistoric period, both before high vowel apocope (and thus affecting **kunnju*) and after both high vowel apocope and high vowel syncope (thus affecting **andijas* > **endjæs*).

2.25 The earliest OE texts have a number of spellings which reflect earlier forms of a variety of inflexions. For nom.acc.sg., examples of *-i* include: EpGl 1053, CorpGl 2075 *durheri* 'folding door',[1] EpGl 56, CorpGl 123, 250 *meeli* 'basin', EpGl 49, CorpGl 49, 1431 *steeli, staeli* 'steel', LdGl 140 *teblheri* 'gambler',[2] †LVD 103, 319 *Hiordi* pers. name, see further Hogg (1992b: §6.53) and Dahl (1938: 109).[3,4] For gen.sg., note CædH *rīċaes, cynnæs*.[5] It is notable that even in the earliest texts *-here*, when it is the second element of a compound, never retains *-j-* in the gen.dat.sg. In texts such as LVD, compounds show a high number of nom.acc.sg. forms with *-i*, e.g. †LVD 11 *Wulfheri*.

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[1] Alongside EpGl 925, CorpGl 1948 *durhere*.

[2] Alongside EpGl 7, CorpGl 111 *teblere*.

[3] Note also EpGl 24 *meriċi* 'parsley', glossing Lat. dat. *apio*, but possibly nom., cf. CorpGl 182 *meriċe*.

[4] CorpGl 159 *dili* 'dill', alongside EpG 21 *dil* with a simplified geminate, is probably, in view of the several later examples of *dile*, an *i*-stem, see also Wynn (1956: 110) and, for an opposing view, Dahl (1938: 87), followed by Pheifer (1974: §77).

[5] Similar examples for the dat.sg. seem to be absent from this stem class, but note the apparent instr.sg. of EpGl 374, CorpGl 733 *ġeddi* 'song', cf. §2.17.

2.26 Historically, the *ja*-stems can be distinguished from *a*-stems in two ways: (i) the occurrence of geminate consonants in original light stems, such as *seċġ, cynn*; (ii) the occurrence of *i*-umlaut, cf. PGmc **sagjaz*, **kunnjam*. The presence of gemination as well as *i*-umlaut also distinguishes, regardless of inflexional patterns, *ja*-stems from *i*-stems, which show only the latter, but cf. §3.41. A third distinction is created by the presence of final *u* in the nom.acc.pl. of neut. nouns such as *wītu*.

(c) wa-*stems*

2.27 In EWS, *wa*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Masculine	**Neuter**
Singular		
Nom.	bearu *grove*	searu *device*
Acc.	bearu	searu
Gen.	bearwes	searwes
Dat.	bearwe	searwe

Plural		
Nom.	bearwas	searu
Acc.	bearwas	searu
Gen.	bearwa	searwa
Dat.	bearwum	searwum

A significant number of *wa*-stems are nouns in which the *-w-* was directly preceded by a vowel or diphthong. The typical inflexion of such nouns in EWS may be exemplified by masc. *þēow* 'servant', see further §2.30:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	þēow *servant*	þēowas
Acc.	þēow	þēowas
Gen.	þēowes	þēowa
Dat.	þēowe	þēowum

2.28 There are fewer *wa*-stems than there are *ja*-stems, and notably there are no significant phonological effects of such processes as syncope and high vowel apocope to be reckoned with, as there are in connexion with the *ja*-stems. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the only example of a *wa*-stem noun is *þēow*.[1] In discussing *wa*-stems it is useful to distinguish between nouns whose root ends in a consonant and those whose root ends in a vocalic element. Thus, other examples in addition to *þēow* include:

(a) with a consonant before *-w-*: *bearu* 'grove' (masc., no other examples), *bealu* 'evil', *cudu* 'cud', *melu* 'meal', *smeoru* 'fat', *teoru* 'tar' (all neut.) In such words that contain a diphthong, the diphthong in the nom. acc.sg. is best analysed as showing extension of breaking from inflected forms in which /l/ or /r/ was followed by /w/, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.22n3&6, 5.105n2).

(b) (i) stems with an original vowel or diphthong before *-w-*, resulting in an OE diphthong in the root: *bēow* 'barley',[2] *dēaw* 'dew' (masc. and neut.), *ġehrēow* 'lamentation' (neut.?), *sēaw* 'juice' (neut.), *þēaw* 'custom' (masc.),[3] all with Gmc diphthongs, and *cnēow* 'knee', *strēaw* 'straw', *trēow* 'tree' (all neut.), *hlēow* 'shelter' (masc. or neut.), all (like *þēow*) with diphthongs of WGmc origin. For the resolution of the distinction between the types in OE, see §§3.43–9.

(ii) stems with an original vowel or diphthong before *-w-*, not resulting in an OE diphthong in the root: *brīw* 'porridge', *hlāw* 'mound',[4] *īw* 'yew', *slīw* 'tench', *snāw* 'snow', *Tīw* 'Tiw' (all masc.), *hrāw* 'body' (neut.).[5]

[1] From which are derived *lāreow* 'teacher', *latteow* 'leader', obscured compounds of *þēow*.

[2] Probably neut., cf. ON *bygg*, OSax *beu*.

[3] Campbell (1977: §584) groups *þēaw* with *þēow* and other words which developed a diphthong in West Germanic, but it contains a Germanic diphthong, see Fulk (1992: §164).

[4] Also *hlǣw* 'mound' with *i*-umlaut, suggesting an original neut. *s*-stem, see §2.95. The noun is occasionally neut. in late texts, see §3.136.

[5] Also *hrǣw* with *i*-umlaut, like *hlǣw*, see n4 above.

2.29 The inflexion of *wa*-stem nouns can be exemplified by a reconstructed paradigm which parallels that of the simple *a*-stems, but with */w/ preceding the inflexional vowel. Hence we may assume the following late PGmc paradigm for masc. nouns, using the etymon of OE *bearu* to exemplify masculine inflexion, with specifically neuter forms represented by the etymon of OE *searu*:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*barwaz (*sarwã)	*barwōosez (*sarwō)
Acc.	*barwã	*barwanz (*sarwō)
Gen.	*barwas	*barwōõ
Dat.	*barwāai	*barwomiz

2.30 The expected development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type parallel to the simple *a*-stems:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*baru (*saru)	*barwōs (*saru)
Acc.	*baru	*barwōs (*saru)
Gen.	*barwas	*barwō̃
Dat.	*barwai	*barum

2.31 Although the further development of these forms is generally regular, several WGmc changes involving */w/ led to a complex set of allomorphic variations:

(1) The loss of the nom.acc.sg. inflexion would have vocalized */w/, to give forms such as **baru*. Historically, the diphthongal forms of EWS such as *bearu* are best viewed as showing analogical extension of breaking from inflected forms in eOE, see §2.28(a), although synchronically the situation may be different, see §3.42.

(2) */w/ was lost wherever it stood before */u/, see Hogg (1992b: §4.7), hence nom.acc.pl.neut. **saru*, whose further development is as in (1) above. The same should occur in the dat.pl. of all *wa*-stems, but there -*w*- seems always to be restored.[1]

(3) If */w/ was vocalized to */u/, cf. (1) above, then it should always have been apocopated after a long vowel or diphthong, producing such nom.acc.sg. forms as PGmc **snaiwaz* > **snaiu* > *snā* 'snow', **dauwaz* > **dēau* > **dēa* 'dew'. In OE, *w*-less forms are practically absent, note CollGl 12.83 *sēa*, MtGl(Li) 17.2, 28.3 *snā*. The nom.acc.pl.neut. should show the same development, but no such forms of the relevant nouns are recorded.[2]

(4) If */w/ was vocalized to */u/, cf. above, and the immediately preceding vowel was short, then in WGmc diphthongization occurred, hence nom.acc.sg. forms such as WGmc **strawaz* > **strau* > **strēa* 'straw', and nom.acc.pl.neut. forms like **cnewō* > **cnewu* > **cneu* > *cnēo*. In OE, *strēa* is restricted to the compound *strēaberiġe* 'strawberry', whilst the type *cnēo* occurs sporadically (not in Ælfric) alongside usual *cnēow*. In the rest of the paradigm the short vowel would remain and perhaps break before /w/, see Hogg (1992b:§5.22), but cf. §3.45n2 in the present volume.

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[1] Angl forms such as *cnēum* 'knees' dat.pl. are possible exceptions, but they should perhaps be handled differently, see §3.47 for further discussion.

[2] On words in which the root vowel was */iː/, e.g. *brīw* 'porridge', see Hogg (1992b: §§4.9(2)) and §3.44 in the present volume.

2.32 The variety of changes described in §2.31 predict the following paradigm for neuter *cnēo* 'knee', from which the paradigms of the other types may be deduced:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	cnēo *knee*	cnēo
Acc.	cnēo	cnēo
Gen.	cneowes	cneowe
Dat.	cneowe	cnēom

Although all the above forms are recorded, especially in Angl texts, there is considerable levelling of the variations in the OE period, and this type of paradigm is not typical of either EWS or, especially, LWS, see further §§3.45ff. Rather, more commonly *w* from the inflected cases was levelled into the uninflected ones, and the long diphthong of the uninflected cases was extended to the inflected ones, resulting in a uniform stem *cnēow(-)* throughout the paradigm, as indicated for *þēow* in §2.27. These analogical changes are more thoroughgoing in some words than in others. For example, *cnēo* occurs several times, almost always in poetry or in Angl texts, whilst *þēo* (instead of *þēow*) is rare, see §3.46n1.[1] In poetry of all dates, the metre often indicates that the analogical lengthening of diphthongs in inflected cases has not yet taken place; only in the relatively late Met and Jud are there also undeniable signs of lengthening, see Fulk (1992: §§162–9).

[1] But certainly in Beo there are many examples of names in *-þēo* (*Ecġ-, Ongen-, Wealh-þēo*), see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 327–8).

2.33 There are few spellings in early texts which reflect earlier forms of the inflexions, but note gen.sg. ErfGl 645 *bēowaes* 'barley'; dat.sg. Bede(M) †*baruæ* 'grove' as second constituent of a place-name (4×);[1] instr.sg. EpGl, ErfGl 769, 944 *smerwi* 'fat'.[2] Early texts also show a number of examples in which levelling of an allomorphic variation has not taken place. Hence we find EpGl, ErfGl 1078 *smeru-, teru* 'tar' nom.acc.sg. (3×),[3] LorGl 1.22 *smerum* dat.pl.[4] CorpGl 88 *sarwo* for *searu* shows extension of *-w-* from inflected forms.

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[1] The root vowel is most probably due to Nbr retraction in place of breaking, see Hogg (1992b: §5.29), although it could also be a variant under low stress, see ibid.: §6.7.

[2] The absence of breaking here may be due to the influence of nom.sg. *smeru* (Campbell, 1977: §582, see also Hogg 1992b: §5.22n6).

[3] The absence of back umlaut in *smeru-, teru* is almost certainly chronological, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.104(2), 5.105(2)).

[4] This form also shows the most typically Angl failure to reintroduce *w-*, cf. §2.31&n1.

2 ō-*stem nouns*

2.34 All nouns belonging to this class are feminine. As with the *a*-stems, see §2.10, there are two sub-types in the class of *ō*-stems, namely *jō*- and *wō*-stems, formed in a manner comparable to *ja*-, *wa*-stems. The simple *ō*-stems are discussed in §§2.35–44, the *jō*-stems in §§2.45–51, and the *wō*-stems in §§2.52–4.

(a) Simple ō-*stems*

2.35 In Early West Saxon, *ō*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	ġiefu *gift*	lār[1] *learning*
Acc.	ġiefe	lāre
Gen.	ġiefe	lāre
Dat.	ġiefe	lāre
Plural		
Nom.	ġiefa	lāra
Acc.	ġiefa	lāra
Gen.	ġiefa	lāra
Dat.	ġiefum	lārum

As may be seen, the only consistent difference between light- and heavy-stemmed nouns of this class is in the nom.sg., see further §2.40. On a further distinction in the gen.pl. which occurs primarily in poetry, where light stems adopt the gen.pl. inflexion *-ena* from the *n*-stems more frequently than do heavy stems, see §3.75.

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[1] Wissman (1975: 50) counts this among the deverbative nouns.

2.36 This class has too large a membership to permit a listing of the relevant nouns, but amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited ō-stems occur:

bōt 'remedy', *hǣlu* 'health',[1] *hīd* 'hide (of land)', *lār* 'learning', *rōd* 'cross', *sāwol* 'soul', *þēod* 'nation'.

Additional examples include:

(a) light: *andswaru* 'answer', *caru* 'sorrow',[2] *cwalu* 'death', *faru* 'journey', *ġiefu* 'gift', *nafu* 'nave', *racu* 'narrative', *sacu* 'strife', *sċ(e)amu* 'shame', *sċolu* 'school', *talu* 'tale', *wracu* 'pain', and others;

(b) heavy: *feoht* 'fight', *fōr* 'journey', *gād* 'goad', *glōf* 'glove', *heall* 'hall', *lād* 'way', *lāf* 'remainder', *meord* 'reward',[3] *sorg* 'sorrow', *stund* 'period of time', *weard* 'protection', *wund* 'wound' and many others.

(c) disyllabic: *byden* 'barrel', *feter* 'fetter', *lyġen* 'lie', *netel* 'nettle', *spinel* 'spindle', all with vowel plus sonorant,[4] and *ċyfes* 'concubine', *duguþ* 'virtue', *efes* 'eaves', *ġeoguþ* 'youth', *ides* 'woman',[5] all with light first syllable and unsyncopated vowel in the second syllable.[6] Many disyllabic forms with a stem ending in a sonorant were originally monosyllabic, the sonorant having become syllabic upon the loss of **-u* in the nom.sg. after the heavy syllable, e.g. **feþru* > **feþr* > *feþer* 'wing', see Hogg (1992b: §§6.34–41). Subsequently the syllabic sonorant could be extended analogically to the inflected cases, e.g. gen.pl. *feþera* beside *feþra*. There is great variability in the orthography as to whether such forms are written unambiguously as disyllabic. For example, *frōfr* 'comfort' is an unusual spelling, found almost exclusively in related Psalter glosses, whilst *ādl* 'disease' and *nǣdl* are almost never written with a vowel before *l*.[7] Examples of (often or intermittently) disyllabic stems that were originally monosyllabic are: (i) *ādl* 'disease', *ċeaster* 'city', *feþer* 'wing', *frōfor* 'comfort', *lifer* 'liver',[8] *nǣdl* 'needle', *stefn* 'voice', *sweġer* 'mother-in-law', *wōcor* 'increase'. Because these stems were originally monosyllabic and heavy, they correctly show loss of *-u* in the nom.sg. Conversely, disyllabic forms could become monosyllabic as a result of syncope, presumably originating in inflected forms. Thus:

(ii) *cyln* beside *cylen* ‘kiln’, *firn* beside *firen* ‘transgression’, *meolc* beside *meoluc* ‘milk’, and always *eln* ‘ell’.[9] Because these stems originally comprised a light syllable followed by another, they correctly lack *-u* in the nom.sg.[10] There appears to have survived just one comparable fem. noun with a heavy initial syllable, *sāwol*, *sāwl* ‘soul’, and it is difficult to explain.[11,12]

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[1] Originally a fem. *īn*-stem, see §2.37n4.

[2] On this form and the alternative form *cearu*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.37(3)).

[3] But probably not *reord* ‘food’, *reord* ‘voice’, which usually show *i*-umlaut, and hence must be *jō*-stems. On these forms, and also *briord, breard* ‘point’, the latter of which appears to be a variant *ō*-stem, see Hogg (1992b: §3.21).

[4] And thus like *cyln*, etc., see immediately below. For further discussion, see Hogg (1992b: §6.68).

[5] Of these examples, *duguþ, ġeoguþ* and *ides* were *i*-stems in PGmc, but all had transferred to this stem class by the OE period.

[6] But in WS *æx* ‘axe’ (< **acas-*), where the medial **a* was followed by an obstruent, that vowel is always syncopated.

[7] However, *ādl* must be scanned as a disyllable at GuthB 978, 1064. Across noun classes, to judge by orthography alone, the sonorants are not syllabified with equal consistency: *r* is almost always syllabified, *n*, *l* and *m* less frequently. Metrical treatment, however, indicates that syllabic *r*, though always written <or> or <er> in verse, is sometimes non-syllabic, whilst *l* and *m* usually are, see Sievers (1893a: §79.4), Fulk (1992: §85). The claim of Peinovich (1979: 106) that forms like *ādl* are always disyllabic, no matter the spelling, is thus untenable. To speakers of English it may appear that monosyllabic forms like **wōkr* and *tācn* are an impossibility if the final sonorant is voiced. However, syllabicity is not a matter of physiological facts but of native speakers’ perceptions. If a language has no sound [ə] and no syllabic sonorants in other positions (Modern Icelandic is such a language), a native speaker will perceive **wōkr* and *tācn* as monosyllables.

[8] This derives from **liƀar-ō*, but medial **a* would have been syncopated early, see Hogg (1992b: §6.14), producing a monosyllabic stem.

[9] For further discussion, see Hogg (1992b: §6.68).

[10] ClGl 1.2788 *eġenu* ‘chaff’ is an exception, which may be due to the influence of the alternative gloss *sċealu* ‘husk’ or even the Latin. In any case, it is not significant.

[11] We should expect that PGmc **saiwalō* would lose medial **-a-*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.14), and then, after *-ō* > *-u*, it would be apocopated, see ibid.: §6.22. The metrical evidence, however, cannot be reconciled with the assumption that *sāwol* and *sāwel* are late developments for earlier *sāwl*. They must reflect Pre-OE restoration of the medial vowel, or uncharacteristically early syllabification of final *-l*, see Fulk (1992: §98), and see further §3.104n3.

[12] It is difficult to assess the significance of a number of examples of proper names of the type LVD 29 †*Aebbino*, since they could easily be fossilized forms. The same type occurs even after heavy monosyllables in names such as LVD 45 †*Bettu*.

2.37 There are two major processes of suffixation associated with *ō*-stems. The first of these, which is exceptionally frequent, pertains to the deverbal suffix *-ung*/*-ing*.[1] Typical examples are: *ascung* ‘asking’, *bodung* ‘preaching’, *cost(n)ung* ‘temptation’, *ċȳping* ‘trading’, *lēasung* ‘falsehood’, *ġemēting* ‘meeting’, _ṡcotung_ ‘shooting’, _wunung_ ‘dwelling’. The second type of suffixation, also frequent, is with the de-adjectival suffix *_-iþō_, which forms abstract nouns. In such forms final *_-u_ < *_-ō_ would have remained after syncope of _-i-_, according to Hogg (1992b: §§6.22, 25), but, to the contrary, it is regularly lost in Ælfric and frequently lost even in EWS, see further §3.98. Rather, it appears that *_-iþu_ should have remained after a heavy syllable and been reduced to *_-iþ_ after a light, in accordance with the findings presented in §§3.64, 70. However, after a heavy syllable, *_i_ should have been syncopated in all cases but the nom.sg., and the syncopated form of the suffix was apparently extended to the nom.sg. at an early date. If the first syllable of these nouns was originally light, syncope should not have occurred, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.18–19). However, syncope seems to have been extended to all forms,[2] and hence we find _frymþ_ ‘beginning’, _ġesihþ_ ‘vision’, _trymþ_ ‘strength’, the lone, early relic of the original situation being EpGl, ErfGl _siuida_ ‘siftings’ (for _sifiðan_, as at CorpGl 2 6.386). Once *_i_ had been eliminated after both heavy and light syllables, all such stems were heavy, and accordingly there was no obvious way to predict whether the nom.sg. should end in _-þu_ or _-þ_, leading to random mixture of the two. Hence, typical examples are: _cȳþþ(u)_ ‘kinship’, _fȳlþ_ ‘filth’, _myrhþ_ ‘mirth’, _ofermettu_ ‘pride’,[3] _ġesǣlþ_ ‘happiness’, _strengþ(u)_ ‘strength’, _yrmþ(u)_ ‘misery’, and many nouns with the adjectival suffix _-leas_ followed by the reflex of PGmc *_-iþō_, with consequent assimilation, as in n2 and Hogg (1992b: §7.92), hence _lārleast_ ‘ignorance’, etc.[4,5]

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[1] This may be regarded as a single suffix, see Kastovsky (1992: 388). Broadly speaking, _-ung_ is associated with words derived from weak verbs of class II, whilst _-ing_ is associated with the other deverbal derivations. There is variation and fluctuation, however, see Weyhe (1911: 14–49) for details.

[2] It might be more appropriate to see this as a restructuring of the suffix, see §3.98n1.

[3] In this and other nouns with a stem-final dental there is assimilation of the fricative to a stop, see Hogg (1992b: §7.92).

[4] For an extensive list of nouns formed this way, see Čermák (2002: 23–5).

[5] A further group of nouns which have by the OE period become associated with this stem class are abstract nouns originally of the Gmc _īn_-class, such as _meniġeo_ ‘multitude’. See §§2.88–90 for details and discussion.

2.38 The inflexion of the _ō_-stem nouns in early PGmc may be exemplified by a reconstructed paradigm of the following type, the etymon of EWS _ġiefu_ ‘gift’, compare §2.9:[1]

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*ʒeƀō	*ʒeƀōoz
Acc.	*ʒeƀōm[2]	*ʒeƀōz[3]
Gen.	*ʒeƀōoz	*ʒeƀō_om_[2]
Dat.	*ʒeƀāai	*ʒeƀōmiz

For details of the origin of these forms and their development in early Gmc, see Bammesberger (1990a: 100ff.), and cf. Kortlandt (2005).

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[1] The quality of the WS stem vowel in this noun is due to palatal diphthongization of */e/, see Hogg (1992b: §5.53). In Kt and Angl, back mutation may apply, since palatal diphthongization does not.

[2] See §2.6n1 on the loss of **-m*.

[3] See here Bammesberger (1990a: 105).

2.39 The expected development of these forms would produce a prehistoric OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*ʒeƀu	*ʒeƀō
Acc.	*ʒeƀa	*ʒeƀa
Gen.	*ʒeƀō	*ʒeƀō̃
Dat.	*ʒeƀai	*ʒeƀum

2.40 The paradigm presented above leads in most elements directly to the paradigm presented in §2.35. Amongst regular developments it should be particularly noted that apocope of final */u/ after a heavy syllable (Hogg, 1992b: §6.20) leads to the contrast *ġifu* : *lār*.[1] However, OE forms of the nom.acc.pl. and the gen.sg. have been subject to some re-formation. Nom.pl. *-a* is the expected development of **-ō*, see ibid.: §6.28, and this is regular in EWS.[2] On the other hand, although the expected development of acc.pl. **-a* would be *-e*, in EWS *-a* is already much more frequent than *-e*, see Dahl (1938: 130) for statistics. It seems most probable that this is due to syncretism of the nom. and acc.pl. endings. On the other hand, in Angl the usual inflexion for nom. and acc.pl. is *-e*. As suggested by Sievers (1893b), these alternative syncretisms provide an important dialect criterion.[3] In the gen.sg., the predicted development would give *-a*, but in fact *-e* is the regular form. It is possible that this is due to the falling together of all the oblique cases, a process which progresses further in late texts, see §§3.76–80, and which here perhaps permits a plainer distinction between sg. and pl. forms. Alternatively and more narrowly, it may be in order to distinguish gen.sg. and gen.pl., for the latter has the regular inflexion *-a*. This would account for the frequent retention in EWS of *-a* in the gen.sg. of the abstract nouns in *-ung*, see §2.41 and references therein, since those nouns are not often used in the plural. This may also explain CP(H) 183.3 *iermða* 'poverty' gen.sg. (also PsGl(A) 39.3 *ermða*), 439.1 *ofermetta* 'pride' gen.sg.[4]

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[1] Since the suffix *-ung/-ing* is heavy, apocope occurs in all forms, hence *bodung*, *lēasung*, etc. On the suffix *-iþō* see §2.37; on other stem types, §2.36.

[2] Or 107.15 *sundorsprǣċe* 'private conversation' appears to be acc.sg.

[3] Flasdieck (1930b) attempts to provide a phonological account of the syncretism. Although the closeness of the phonological developments in the two cases ought not to be ignored, it seems impossible to avoid assigning a critical role to morphological forces.

[4] Yet another view, presented in Flasdieck (1930b) and Brunner (1965: §252A1), is that the gen.sg. has taken on the inflexion of the dat.sg. This is possible, although unilluminating, and there are difficulties, see especially Dahl (1938: 133–4). And it seems unlikely that the form is borrowed from the original acc.pl. (i.e. -*e*) following feminine *n*-stems, as suggested by Campbell (1977: §586).

2.41 Nouns with the suffix -*ung*/-*ing*, see §2.37, form a special case, for in the sg. they frequently form the gen. in -*a*. The same inflexion is also often found in acc.dat.sg. The statistics for EWS and early texts from other dialects, presented and discussed in Dahl (1938: 141–3), show that the most frequent use of -*a* is in the acc., followed by the dat. and only then by the gen., which argues strongly against the view that -*a* was extended from the gen. to other cases (as supposed in Campbell, 1977: §589.8). Also, Dahl demonstrates that -*a* is much more frequent after -*ung* than after -*ing*, which supports his view that the variation in inflexion is due to harmonic assimilation of the unstressed vowel to the vowel of the suffix.[1]

[1] One might also note that nouns of this type are infrequent in the plural, and therefore confusion between sg. and pl. was less likely, cf. §2.40.

2.42 The earliest OE texts have many spellings in <æ> reflecting the earlier form of the acc.sg., gen.sg. and dat.sg. inflexions, but such spellings do not appear in EWS texts. One example of each is: LRid 13 *aeriġfaerae* 'flight of arrows' acc.sg., BedeH(M) †*Humbrae* 'Humber' gen.sg., EpGl 796 *nāēðlae* 'needle' dat.sg.[1] By contrast, the only clear example in early Angl except CorpGl of the later development of the nom.sg. to -*o*, -*a* is LVD29 †*Aebbino*, see, however, §2.36n12.[2] Outside Angl, the Kt forms Ch 1197 *Lubo*, *Lufa*, *Luba* are noteworthy.

[1] EpGl 6 *teblae* 'die' could be fem.nom.sg. of an *n*-stem rather than dat.sg., see Pheifer (1974: 59).

[2] ErfGl 732 *sċoma* 'shame' may be an error for *sċamo*, cf. EpGl *sċamu*, and ErfGl 912 *ruga* for *suga* 'sow' is untrustworthy, cf. EpGl *sugu*. CorpGl has 1393 *snoro* 'daughter-in-law', 1679 *sċomo* 'shame', and possibly 976 *sċala* 'shell'.

2.43 There are three forms[1] which show an inflexional -*i*, namely RuthCr 56 *rōdi* 'cross', Rune Auzon 10 *ċæstri* 'city', both in locative functions, and EpGl 97 *ġitīungi* 'preparation', an instrumental. The inflexional ending, even if genuine,[2] cannot be original to *ō*-stems, but it is most probably borrowed from the *a*-stems, cf. §2.17, and see Bammesberger (1994), Brunner (1965: §252A1), Dahl (1938: 123), Lass (1991, 1992: 111n8).

[1] To these should be added the *jō*-stem EpGl 109 *mēġsibbi* ‘relationship’, apparently instr.sg.

[2] See §2.17, with further references. One might also point out that such decorative runic inscriptions as those on the Ruthwell Cross and the Auzon (Franks) Casket may be archaizing and not reflections of the immediately contemporary language.

2.44 In the nom.acc.pl. there is considerable variation between forms in *-a* and *-e*, as mentioned in §2.40, but in both instances there are <æ> spellings indicating the earlier form, e.g. LRid 5 *ueflæ* ‘woof’ nom.pl., EpGl *halbae* ‘half’ acc.pl.

(b) jō-*stems*

2.45 In EWS, *jō*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	synn *sin*	ġierd *rod*
Acc.	synne	ġierde
Gen.	synne	ġierde
Dat.	synne	ġierde
Plural		
Nom.	synna	ġierda
Acc.	synna	ġierda
Gen.	synna	ġierda
Dat.	synnum	ġierdum

As may be observed, there is no inflexional difference between those nouns which originally had a light stem and those which originally had a heavy stem. On their historical origins, see below, §2.48.

2.46 This class has a very large membership, particularly as a result of the variety of suffixes which go to form *jō*-stem nouns, and amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following inherited *jō*-stems occur:

bliss ‘bliss’,[1] *hell* ‘hell’, *sibb* ‘relationship’, *synn* ‘sin’, and the following words with the suffix *-ness*, see §2.47(1): *ēċness* ‘eternity’, *mildheortness* ‘mercy’, *rihtwīsness* ‘righteousness’.

Other examples of unsuffixed *jō*-stem nouns (i.e., nouns in which *-jō-* is the only suffix added to the root, at least as regards suffixes recognizable as such in PGmc) include:

(a) original light stems: *benn* 'wound', *bryċġ* 'bridge', *criċċ* 'crutch', *eċġ* 'edge', *henn* 'hen', *nytt* 'use', *sæċċ* 'strife', *seċġ* 'sword', *syll* 'base';[2]

(b) original heavy stems: *bend* 'bond',[3] *cǣġ* 'key', *hild* 'battle', *hind* 'hind', *īġ* 'island',[4,5] *liss* 'kindness', *milts* 'mercy',[6] *rest* 'rest', *sprǣċ* 'speech', *wylf* 'she-wolf', *ȳþ* 'wave'.[7]

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[1] The geminate consonant is due to an *s*-suffix of obscure origin, not WGmc gemination, and hence the noun theoretically patterns like *ġyrd*, see also Hogg (1992b: §7.9&n2).

[2] We might add here *ewe* 'sheep', originally an *i*-stem, cf. Lat *ovis*, which is the regular development of PGmc **awi*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.14n1). Under reinterpretation as a *jō*-stem it is re-formed as *eowu*, with back umlaut, see ibid.: §5.105(1).

[3] In EWS alongside masc. *i*-stem *bend*. Ælfric uses only the masc. noun. It is fem. at Beo 1936.

[4] Here, and probably also in *cǣġ*, the root was vowel-final and hence directly followed by */j/. The phonological developments are regular.

[5] For variation in the gender of this noun, see §3.137.

[6] For *liss, milts*, cf. *bliss* and n1 above.

[7] Also to be taken here are *reord* 'food', *reord* 'voice', see §2.36n3.

2.47 As mentioned above, suffixation is a rich source of *jō*-stems. The principal suffixations are as follows:

(1) The most frequent *jō*-stem suffix is undoubtedly the deverbal and de-adjectival, and even occasionally denominal, abstract suffix *-nes(s)*.[1] Examples additional to those cited in §2.46 are: *beorhtness* 'brightness', *biterness* 'bitterness', *clǣnness* 'purity', *wōdness* 'madness', all de-adjectival; *blinness* 'cessation', *costness* 'temptation', *forġifness* 'forgiveness', *onġitness* 'understanding',[2] all deverbal, and many others of both origins, although the former are more frequent. Denominal instances include *cwealmness* 'torment', *flǣsċness* 'incarnation' and *ġeoguþhādness* 'youth'.

(2) The suffix *-en(n)* has two sources: (a) WGmc **-innjō*, **-unnjō* > OE *-enn* and (b) PGmc **-īniz* > **-en*. The latter type is in origin an *īni*-stem, that is to say, a sub-group of *i*-stems, but at a very early date such nouns transferred to the *jō*-stems.[3] Nouns of type (a) include feminine nouns derived from masculines, hence *fixen* 'vixen', *gyden* 'goddess', *men(n)en* 'maidservant', *myneċenu* 'nun',[4] *sċylċen* 'female servant', *þē̆owenn* 'maidservant', *þīnen* 'maidservant', *-wyrġenn* 'female monster'. But some other nouns bear the suffix of type (a), as well, including *byrġenn* 'burial',[5] *byrþen* 'burden', *henġen* 'hanging'. Except where indicated, the nom.sg. has no final geminate consonant. Nouns of type (b) are deverbal or denominal nouns either concrete or abstract,[6] for example *hæften* 'captivity', *rǣden* 'condition',[7] *sel(l)en* 'gift'.

(3) The suffix *-es(s)* is from PGmc **-isjō* and is used to form a number of feminine nouns, including: *byres* 'chisel', *ċyfes* 'concubine', *forleġes* 'prostitute', *hæġtes* 'witch'.[8] *Cnēoris* 'race' appears to be an original

i-stem which has been reanalysed in OE as a *jō*-stem on the basis of its final syllable, see Kluge (1882: 528), also Dahl (1938: 153).[9]

(4) The suffix *-et(t)*, from PGmc **-itjō*, **-atjō*, is found on nouns such as *ānet* 'solitude', *hyrnet* 'hornet', *lempet* 'dish', *ylfet* 'dish'. But in early texts these appear with *-u* in the nom.sg., e.g. ErfGl 275 *hirnitu*, EpGl 718 *aelbitu* (= *ylfetu*), whilst ErfGl2 20 *lempite* 'basin' nom.pl. shows no geminate consonant, and the neut.pl. *līġetu* 'lightning' is reinterpreted as belonging to the same class, and with lack of gemination in inflected forms. Such early forms may be explained as early transfers to the *ō*-stems, see Brunner (1965: §258.1), or as original *ō*-stems with later forms such as *hyrnet* being taken as transfers to the *jō*-stems, see Dahl (1938: 118–19).[10] Given the parallel existence of *mynećenu*, above, which is a derivation from the Lat loan *munuc*, the former of these explanations seems the more probable, see further §2.49.

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[1] This is the usual form in EWS; in LWS the usual form is *-nyss*. In Angl the form is *-niss*, whilst Kt varies between *-ness* and *-niss*, the latter being absent from CollGl 49. On the etymology and development of the suffix, see Suzuki (1990). See §2.49 on degemination of the final consonant in this and other suffixes of similar structure, e.g. *-nes*, *-nys*, *-en*, etc., and §3.91(1)&n3 on nom.sg. *-nesse*, etc.

[2] Alongside *forġifness*, *onġitness* we find *forġifenness*, *onġitenness*, the former from the inf., the latter from the pa.part. On such doublets, see Suzuki (1990) and Kastovsky (1992: 387–8).

[3] This suffix does not, however, always produce *jō*-stems, and some of the examples given below may also be neut., for example *byrġen*, and others are never fem. In this context note especially *dryhten* 'lord', *þēoden* 'prince', which are masc. *a*-stems in OE, and the neut. *a*-stem *nȳten* 'animal'. On the *jō*-stems, see Dahl (1938: 152–3) and Bammesberger (1990a: 148).

[4] For example at ÆCHom II 2 106.499. For discussion of the retention of inflexional *-u*, see (4) below. Some other words of this type show the same phenomenon, thus *gydenu* 'goddess', *mennenu* 'maidservant'.

[5] Kluge (1926: §149(b)) regards *byrġen* as belonging to type (b), but this leaves the geminate *-nn-* usually found in inflected forms unexplained.

[6] See Kastovsky (1992: 385), against the common view that all these derivatives are abstract.

[7] Cf. Got *garaideins* 'regulation'. Rare examples of inflected *rǣdenne* are perhaps due to confusion with the suffix seen in nouns like *camprǣden* 'war', *hīwrǣden* 'family', *manrǣden* 'homage', all probably with WGmc **-innjō*, on which see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 189), with references.

[8] *Lynis* 'linchpin', nom.pl. *lynisas*, is of the same origin, but it has the inflexions of the *a*-stems. *Ides* 'woman' came to be inflected like these nouns, but it is of different origin (cf. OHG *itins*), having been originally an *i*-stem.

[9] But Nbr *cnēoresu*, etc. is a *wō*-stem, see §3.93n4 and further references therein for fuller details.

[10] These nouns often transfer to the *n*-stems in later OE, see §3.102n2.

2.48 The inflexions of originally light *jō*-stem nouns can be traced back to PGmc inflexions which parallel those of the simple *ō*-stems but with */j/

preceding the inflexional vowel. This */j/ would have been */ij/ after a heavy syllable, cf. the discussion of *ja*-stems in §2.22. Hence we can reconstruct the following early PGmc paradigms:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	*sunjō	*ʒardijō
Acc.	*sunjōm	*ʒardijōm
Gen.	*sunjōoz	*ʒardijōoz
Dat.	*sunjāai	*ʒardijāai
Plural		
Nom.	*sunjōoz	*ʒardijōoz
Acc.	*sunjōz	*ʒardijōz
Gen.	*sunjōom	*ʒardijōom
Dat.	*sunjōmiz	*ʒardijōmiz

2.49 All *jō*-stems should show the same developments as heavy *ō*-stems, including the types of variation discussed in §2.40. But additionally, in the original light stems there is gemination of all final consonants except */r/. The zero inflexion in the nom.sg. is due to apocope of final *-u* after a heavy syllable whether due to gemination, as with *synn*, or original, as in *ġierd*.[1] However, suffixed nouns frequently show degemination in the unstressed suffix. Such degemination occurs earlier than in stressed positions, see Hogg (1992b: §7.80), and it could be extended to medial position in inflected cases. Thus, in CP we typically find examples such as *sōðfæstnes* 'truth', *byrðen* 'burden', alongside much less frequent *sōðfæstness*.[2,3] If degemination were early, the types exemplified by *hirnitu*, *myneċenu*, etc. (§2.47), might then have been reinterpreted as *ō*-stems and hence might have invited reintroduction of inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg.

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[1] As suggested by Dahl (1938: §148), EpGl, ErfGl 440, CorpGl 922 *aetgāēru* 'javelin' is the predicted nom.sg. from PGmc **atgairijō*, cf. *ja*-stems such as *wītu*, §2.24.

[2] See further Cosijn (1886: §18). Cosijn gives no EWS instances of *enn*-suffixes with gemination in nom.sg., and, for example, there are no examples anywhere of **(-)byrþenn* in the *DOEC*.

[3] In the instance of the suffix *-ness*, at least, Ælfric, by contrast, appears to have free variation between geminated (*-nyss*) and ungeminated (*-nys*) forms.

2.50 There are few spellings in early texts which reflect particularly archaic forms, but note EpGl 109 *mēġsibbi* instr.sg., and see §2.43. To this might be added the highly suspect LdGl *tynd(e)ri* 'tinder' (? = *tyndrin*, cf. ErfGl 555a, CorpGl 1156).

2.51 Historically, the light *jō*-stems can be distinguished from the ō-stems by the presence of gemination and *i*-umlaut (where possible), whilst the heavy *jō*-stems are distinguished only by *i*-umlaut (where possible).

(c) wō-*stems*

2.52 In EWS, *wō*-stems typically were declined according to paradigms of the following types:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	sinu *sinew*	lǣs *pasture*
Acc.	sinwe	lǣswe
Gen.	sinwe	lǣswe
Dat.	sinwe	lǣswe
Plural		
Nom.	sinwa	lǣswa
Acc.	sinwa	lǣswa
Gen.	sinwa	lǣswa
Dat.	sinwum	lǣswum

As with *wa*-stems, see §2.27, there are a number of nouns in which -*w*- was directly preceded by a vowel or diphthong. In EWS such nouns typically have a paradigm that resembles nom.sg. *stōw* 'place', acc.sg. *stōwe*, but see §2.54 for further discussion.

2.53 There are relatively few nouns which belong to this declension, but light stems like *sinu* include *beadu* 'battle', *nearu* 'difficulty', *sċeadu* (beside neut. *sċead*) 'shade',[1] and the pluralia tantum *frætwe* 'ornaments', *ġeatwe* 'armour'; heavy stems like *lǣs* include *blōd(e)lǣs* 'blood-letting', *mǣd* 'meadow' and Az 126 *rǣswum* 'council' dat.pl.

2.54 Except for nouns such as *stōw*, the paradigm of this sub-class closely follows that of the ō-stems and is otherwise phonologically predictable except for the dat.pl., where -*w*- has been analogically restored, cf. §2.31(2).[1] In *stōw*, /w/ should have been lost finally, and before /u/, to give nom.sg. **stō*, dat.pl. **stōm* < **stō-um*. But in both instances -*w*- is regularly restored, perhaps orthographically in the nom.sg., see Hogg (1992b: §§7.72–3). Nouns of the same type include *hrēow* 'penitence', *trēow* 'faith'. Where the root vowel was originally **a*, the phonological development should have been to a nom.sg. like **clēa* 'claw', *þrēa* 'affliction', with forms of the type *claw-*, *þraw-* in the other cases. But in early texts we find EpGl, ErfGl 29, CorpGl 211 *clauuo*, EpGl 53 *thrauu*, CorpGl 200 *thrauuo*, which show re-formation of the nom.sg. on the analogy of the inflected cases. Yet later examples of the type *clēa* nom.pl. suggest that the unattested nom.sg. must have existed, see further §3.94.

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[1] Occasionally *searu* 'device', usually a *wa*-stem, occurs as a fem., cf. §2.27, although some of the apparently fem. examples could be taken as masc., see §3.9n5.

[1] For early examples of the usually later type in which *-w-* is lost before any inflexion, see §3.93. LRid 10 *ġeatum*, a dat.pl. used adverbially meaning 'with splendour', is certainly no early form, as the poetic metre demands a word with a heavy initial syllable. See §3.93 also for a discussion of forms in which an epenthetic vowel is introduced before *-w-*, e.g. *beaduwe* 'battle' dat.sg.

3 i-*stem nouns*

2.55 Nouns belonging to the class of *i*-stems could be of all three genders, although in PGmc, neuters were much less frequent than the others.[1] Originally, masc. and fem. nouns were declined identically. However, the evidence of Gothic, for example, shows that in PGmc the masc. *i*-stems had already adopted the inflexions of the masc. *a*-stems in the singular, and the evidence of OE (which differs from that of Gothic, however, in regard to the singular) shows that this process had begun to be extended to the plural by the earliest times. Similarly, the OE fem. *i*-stems adopted at a very early date the inflexions of the *ō*-stems, and the neuters adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems. The consequence of these changes is that for the majority of *i*-stems, even in eOE, their membership in that stem class is primarily an historical fact rather than an indication of their structure in OE.[2] For discussion of the distinguishing characteristics of *i*-stems, see below, §2.69, and for their status within the OE period see §§3.32–3, 10.41, 10.77.

[1] Thus, there are no apparent examples of neuter *i*-stems in Gothic.

[2] On the elimination of the *i*-stems as a discrete declensional category, see Hogg (1992c), Adamczyk (2008).

2.56 In EWS, masc. *i*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	wine *friend*	dǣl *part*
Acc.	wine	dǣl
Gen.	wines	dǣles
Dat.	wine	dǣle

Plural		
Nom.	winas[1]	dǣlas
Acc.	winas	dǣlas
Gen.	wina[2]	dǣla
Dat.	winum	dǣlum

The only clear-cut distinction between light and heavy stems is found in the nom.acc.sg., where *-e* is found only in the light stems.[3] The loss of **-iz* in the heavy stems was the cause of their more thorough assimilation into the category of *a*-stems. For the occasional distinction between light and heavy stems in the gen.pl., see §2.61n1.

[1] Except for names of ethnicities and other pluralia tantum, which form a special case, see §2.70, there are very few examples of the historically expected *-e* in the nom.acc.pl. The claim of Sprockel (1965: 170) that *-e* is the regular nom.acc.pl. inflexion in ChronA must be read in this light. See further §2.62.

[2] For poetical *wini(ġe)a*, see §2.61n1.

[3] See §3.33 for discussion of whether or not this *-e* should be analysed synchronically as an inflexion.

2.57 This quite large class contains a few nouns of high frequency, and amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following masc. *i*-stems occur:[1] (a) light: *mete* 'food'; (b) heavy: *dǣl* 'part', *sǣ* 'sea'.[2]

Additional examples include:

(a) light: *bere* 'barley', *bite* 'bite', *bliċe* 'brightness', *bryċe* 'breach', *bryċe* 'use', *bryne* 'burning', *byġe* 'bending', *byre* 'youth', *cwide* 'speech', *ċyle* 'cold', *cyme* 'arrival', *cyre* 'choice', *dile* 'dill' (cf. §2.25n4), *drepe* 'slaying', *dryre* 'decline', *dyne* 'din', *eċe* 'pain', *eġe* 'terror', *ele* 'oil', *flyġe* 'flight', *gripe* 'grip', *gryre* 'terror', *gyte* 'flood', *hefe* 'weight', *heġe* 'hedge', *hete* 'hate', *hrine* 'touch', *hryre* 'fall', *hyġe* 'mind', *hype* 'hip', *hyse* 'young man', *ile* 'sole', *lyġe* 'lie', *lyre* 'loss', *mere* 'lake', *myne* 'mind', *myne* 'necklace', *(fore-)nyme* 'taking', *pyle* 'pillow', *ryġe* 'rye', *ryne* 'course', *sċriðe* 'journey', *sċyfe* 'pushing', *sċyte* 'shooting', *sele* 'hall', *siċe* 'sigh', *siġe* 'victory', *sleġe* 'blow', *slide* 'slip', *snide* 'cut', *spiwe* 'vomiting', *stæpe* 'step',[3] *stede* (occ. Nbr. *styde*) 'place', *stiċe* 'prick', *stiġe* 'rise', *stride* 'stride', *swiċe* 'smell', *swyle* 'swelling', *sype* 'suction', *tiġe* 'tug', *þyle* 'orator', *wlite* 'beauty'.[4]

(b) heavy: *æf(e)st* 'envy', *ǣrist* 'resurrection', *bend* 'bond' (cf. §2.46n3), *byht* 'bend', *brǣw* 'eyelid', *bylġ* 'bag',[5] *byrst* 'loss', *ċyrm* 'shouting', *ċyrr* 'turn', *demm* 'damage',[6] *drenċ* 'drink', *ent* 'giant', *fenġ* 'grasp', *fyll* 'fall', *fyrs* 'furze', *fyrst* 'period of time', *glǣm* 'brightness', *gylt* 'guilt', *ġyst* 'guest', *hyll* 'hill',[7] *līġ* 'flame', *lyft* 'sky',[8] *mǣw* 'mew', *pliht* 'danger', *sǣl* 'time',[9] *spryngġ* ‘source’, *stenċ* ‘smell’, *stenġ* ‘pole’, *strenġ* ‘string’, *styll* ‘leap’, *swēġ* ‘noise’, *swenġ* ‘blow’, *swylt* ‘death’, *tyht* ‘manner’, *þyrs* ‘giant’, *wǣġ* ‘movement’, *wrenċ* ‘trick’, *wyll* ‘well’, *wyrm* ‘serpent’, *wyrp* ‘throw’.

[1] Not all the nouns listed in this paragraph are in origin *i*-stems, but their historical development shows that they were members of this class in PGmc. A number of the nouns cited here undergo divergent developments during OE, e.g. *mete* > *mett*. For discussion of this, see §3.41.

[2] Also fem., see §3.135. Masc. usage is usually Angl and poetic, but see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 244) for references.

[3] The usual form alongside the less frequent but predicted form *stepe*. *Stæpe* may be due to umlaut of analogically restored /ɑ/, cf. nom.pl. *stapas* without *i*-umlaut (attributable, presumably, to an early transfer to the *a*-stem class), or it may simply show a re-formation of the noun parallel to the alternation *dæġ* ~ *dagas* ‘day ~ days’, see further §3.15.

[4] To these might be added the loan *drȳ* ‘magician’ (from Old Irish *drui*), although it follows the paradigm of the *a*-stems. The inflected stem has a short vowel, as indicated by the poetic metre at Jul 301.

[5] For forms such as Ru1 *belgas* ‘wine-skins’, see Hogg (1992b: §5.79(2)a).

[6] But this, of unknown origin, could be a *ja*-stem.

[7] Nom.sg. _*hyle_ does not occur, and ungeminated forms are found only in late charters, suggesting that the word had been transferred to the *ja*-stems at a very early stage, see also §3.39. For *hyll* as a heavy *i*-stem, cf. Lat. *collis*. For the variable gender of *hyll*, see §3.135.

[8] But *lyft* is found in all three genders.

[9] Rarely fem., as at GenA 1184 *seo sǣl*.

2.58 The frequent suffix *-sċipe* is an important source of masc. *i*-stems, including examples such as: *(ġe-)bēorsċipe* ‘feast’, *frēondsċipe* ‘friendship’, *(ġe)fērsċipe* ‘fellowship’, *hǣðensċipe* ‘paganism’, *lēodsċipe* ‘nation’, *weorðsċipe* ‘worship’.

2.59 The paradigm of *wine* can be traced back to the early PGmc paradigm type presented below (with the gen.pl. of the heavy-stemmed etymon of OE *dǣla* supplied for comparison with that of light-stemmed *wina*). In order to clarify the historical developments, those parts of the paradigm which are not reflected as such in EWS, where *a*-stem inflexions have been adopted instead, are italicized:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*weniz	_*wenejez_[1]
Acc.	*wenim	_*weninz_
Gen.	_*weneiz_	_*wenijōom_[2] (*dailijōom)
Dat.	*wenai[3]	_*wenimiz_

[1] In very early texts there are a few forms with *-i*, *-e*, e.g. CorpGl 1510 *stridi* ‘strides’. This is the regular development of the PGmc _*-ejez_ > _*-īiz_ with trimoric vowel, which

would perhaps have been bimoric at the time of apocope and therefore would possibly have remained even after heavy syllables, e.g. CorpGl 548 *dāēle*, see further §2.62. But there are many uncertainties: see Bliss (1967: 113–17), Fulk (1992: 421–2).

[2] The PIE ending was **-i(y)ōom*, with syllabic **i*, cf. Homeric Greek gen.pl. *πολίων* 'cities', Lat *marium* 'seas', etc. See further §2.61n2. Some scholars assume that the trimoric gen.pl. ending arose only in the *a*- and *ō*-stems, or perhaps only in the latter. In that event, it must be assumed that in Gmc the trimoric variant was extended to the *i*-stems, *u*-stems and consonantal stems. Preservation of the distinction after the PGmc period might explain why *manna* occurs beside *manno*, the latter with the usual gen.pl. inflexion, as the gen.pl. of OSax *man* 'person'.

[3] This dat. form is locative in origin, see Bammesberger (1990a: 126), if it is not borrowed from the *a*-stem dat. The parallel of the dat.sg. of *u*-stems, see §2.74, suggests the ending here is locative. See §2.62 on the possible retention in early texts of the original dat. ending.

2.60 The phonological development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type, except that the italicized forms are now replacements based on *a*-stem inflexional patterns, cf. §2.14:[1]

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*wini	**winōs*
Acc.	*wini	**winōs*
Gen.	**winas*	**winijō̃* (*dailijō̃)
Dat.	*winai	**winum*

In all forms in which the inflexion is from the *a*-stems we should not expect the stem vowel to have been raised, see Hogg (1992b: §3.6). Although it is difficult to determine when the inflexions of the *a*-stems were adopted, it is likely that the process was not complete until near the beginning of the historical period, and therefore the root vowel of, say, **winas* is likely to be phonological in origin.

[1] On the reasons for the substitution of *a*-stem inflexions, see Bertacca (2001).

2.61 In EWS, the nom.acc.sg. presents a genuine *i*-stem inflexion which develops directly into EWS, the only variation in form being between light stems such as *wine* and heavy stems with apocope of earlier **-i*, e.g. *dǣl*. The gen.pl. of heavy stems is regular: compare with *dǣla* a *ja*-stem gen.pl. such as *enda*. But in light stems the gen.pl. ending **-ijō̃* in the prose of all dialects has been replaced by the **-ō̃* found in the *a*-stems. It is only in poetry that gen. pl. *wini(ġe)a* occurs,[1] reflecting the original Gmc form.[2] Aside from these few exceptions and, probably, the dat.sg., the inflexions of *i*-stems are all taken over from the *a*-stems.[3]

[1] Gen.pl. *winiġa* occurs at GuthB 1365 (with confusion of minims: the manuscript has <wiinga> altered from <wimga>), and *winia* appears at Beo 2567, beside two

instances of *-wina* in the poem. Also in Beo, *Deni(ġe)a* ‘Danes’ occurs (14×) beside *(-)Dena* (15×). With just one exception, *Deniġa* could be substituted for all instances of *Dena* without detriment to the metre, whilst the substitution of *Dena* for *Deniġa* would disrupt the scansion in every instance, see Fulk (1992: 243–5).

[2] Bammesberger (1990a: 127) maintains that PGmc **-ijōõ* would have been reduced to **-jōõ* after a light syllable, causing gemination in light stems, with subsequent analogical restoration of the non-geminate. However, the basis for this view, the so-called converse of Sievers’s Law, is not now generally credited, see Collinge (1985: 159–74), Fulk (1986: 12–13) and Barrack (1998: 247n.12) for references. Cf. the discussion of these forms by Adamczyk (2001).

[3] It is sometimes suggested that Ch 31.8 †*Folcuuinis* pers. name (gen.sg.) may have *-s* of the *a*-stem inflexion attached to *-i-*, marker of the *i*-stem class, thus Dahl (1938: 161), Campbell (1977: §601n1), but this is less likely than that the form merely shows confusion between unstressed vowels, see Bazell (1960: 29) and, for discussion of another possible variant, §2.68. But infrequent examples of *-e* for acc.pl. are regularly developed from PGmc **-inz* > **-īz*. See also §2.59n1.

2.62 The earliest OE texts evince a variety of spellings which reflect earlier forms of the inflexions or of inflexions originally proper to *i*-stems but which have usually been superseded by *a*-stem inflexions. For the nom.acc.sg. there are a great many examples of *-i*, almost all of which are in names with the second element *-wini*, e.g. *Aelfuini*, *Ōsuini*, etc.[1] Examples not from name elements include EpGl, ErfGl 962 *meri* ‘lake’, 918 *ryġi* ‘rye’,[2] CorpGl 664 *cyri* ‘choice’. There are no significant early forms of the gen. sg., for the frequent *-wini* in Nbr names is a Latinism, and †*Folcuuinis* is unreliable, see §2.61n2, whilst Bede 2 *Ēadwinis* is late, see Dahl (1938: 161&n) for this and for Latinisms. There are a few dat.sg. forms in *-i*, thus EpGl, ErfGl 731, CorpGl 1471 *dǣli*, Inscr 55,[3] RuneThornhillA *-wini*. The first might be an instr., but this is less probable for the other examples, both governed by *æfter*. Except with names of nationalities and other pluralia tantum, for which see §2.70, there are only rare examples of nom.acc.pl. in *-i* or its later development *-e*. Examples are: CorpGl 1510 *stridi* ‘strides’, 548 *dāēle* ‘parts’ acc., and possibly PsGl(A) 134.19–20 *ġehūssċipe* ‘family’.[4] Other examples of the same inflexion are poetical, e.g. Beo 1188 *byre* ‘boys, sons’ nom.pl., 2018 acc.pl.[5]

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[1] But with the name element *-siġe* Nbr almost invariably has an inflexionless form, e.g. *Aelfsiġ*. Here it may be supposed that **-iji* > *-ij*, see Girvan (1931: §178a2).

[2] Cf. *dile*. ErfGl 918 *ryġ* is not necessarily significant, but cf. n1 above.

[3] That is, the Wycliffe Stone, see Okasha (1971: 129–30).

[4] But we cannot help but suspect, *pace* Dahl (1938: 163), that the examples from PsGl(A) are instances of the infrequent use of a plural verb with a collective noun in the sg., see Mitchell (1985: §84), who does not cite or discuss these examples.

[5] For variant gen.pl. forms, see §2.61n1.

2.63 Even in EWS, neut. *i*-stems followed the paradigm of the neut. *a*-stems except in the nom.acc.sg., where *-e* < **-iz* was retained. Heavy stems were distinguished from light stems by having zero inflexion in the nom.acc.sg.&pl. due to apocope. Hence we find paradigms as follows:

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	spere *spear*	flǣsċ *flesh*
Acc.	spere	flǣsċ
Gen.	speres	flǣsċes
Dat.	spere	flǣsċe
Plural		
Nom.	speru	flǣsċ
Acc.	speru	flǣsċ
Gen.	spera	flǣsca
Dat.	sperum	flǣscum

2.64 The number of *i*-stem neuters is relatively small, and it is not always possible to determine the stem class with certainty, in view of the scarcity of the comparative evidence, see §2.55. However, the following light stems occur: *clyne* 'lump', *ġedyre* 'door-post', *ofdele* 'slope', *oferslege* 'lintel', *orleġe* 'strife', *sife* 'sieve'.[1] The following heavy stems occur: *flȳs* 'fleece', *hǣl* 'omen', *hilt* 'hilt', *hrēð* 'glory',[2] and a number of derived forms with the prefix *ġe*-, e.g., *ġebenn* 'proclamation', *ġedwyld* 'error', *ġefēġ* 'joint', *ġegrynd* 'plot of ground', *ġehlȳd* 'cry', *ġehyld* 'guard', *ġehnǣst* 'clash', *ġeswinċ* 'labour', *ġewēd* 'madness', *ġewylċ* 'rolling'[3] and, already prefixed (and hence without *ġe*-), *ymbċyrf* 'circumcision'. These derived forms are always neut., but in other forms there is fluctuation between fem. and neut., see for this and also unumlauted variants §2.69.

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[1] *Ġedyne* 'noise' may be a neut. collective alongside *dyne* (§2.57a), but firm evidence is lacking; it is uncertain whether ClGl 1,3 *ġewife* 'fate' (4×) is a nom. or dat. form; ?†*ġewile* is unclear, cf. LawIICn 75.1 *ġewill*, which behaves as a neut. *ja*-stem. In all three cases the root vowel would suggest an original *i*-stem, but the OE evidence does not help to confirm the suggestion.

[2] The latter two are also masc.

[3] Possibly also *ġeresp* 'conviction'.

2.65 In EWS, heavy[1] fem. *i*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigm:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	dǣd *deed*	dǣda
Acc.	dǣd, dǣde	dǣda
Gen.	dǣde	dǣda
Dat.	dǣde	dǣdum

The plural forms of these nouns are wholly those of the ō-stems, and hence they show the same dialectal variations found in ō-stems, see §2.40 for details.[2]

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[1] See §2.66 on light-stemmed fem. nouns of this class.

[2] But on the important variation between zero and *-e* in the acc.sg., see the discussion in §3.77.

2.66 There are very few light-stemmed fem. nouns of this class, and they can be deduced only by the *i*-umlaut of their stem vowel, since they always follow the paradigm of the light ō-stems, even in nom.sg. Safe examples of such nouns are *denu* 'valley' and *fremu* 'benefit', to which may be added **hylu* 'hollow' and compounds in *-legu*,[1] *-neru*, e.g. **ealdorlegu* 'death', **ealdorneru* 'safety', none of which occurs in the nom.sg.

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[1] Perhaps the suffix should be *-leġu*, in view of the evidence that *i*-stem inflexions could be preserved into the historical period, see §2.68.

2.67 By contrast, there are a considerable number of heavy-stemmed fem. nouns, including several amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes:

ǣ 'law',[1] *dǣd* 'deed', *miht* 'power', *sǣ* 'sea' (also masc., see §2.57b), *tīd* 'time', *woruld* 'world' (rarely masc.), *wyrt* 'plant'.

Other such nouns include: *ǣht* 'property', *bēn* 'prayer', *benċ* 'bench', *brȳd* 'bride', *cwēn* 'queen', *dryht* 'crowd', *ēst* 'favour', *fyrd* 'army', *fȳst* 'fist', *glēd* 'coal', *hǣst* 'violence', *hȳd* 'hide', *hȳf* 'hive', *hyrst* 'ornament', *lǣn* 'loan', *lyft* 'air' (mainly fem., but see §3.137), *nȳd* 'need', *sċyld* 'guilt', *spēd* 'success', *þrȳð* 'force', *wēn* 'hope', *wist* 'sustenance', *wyrd* 'fate', *ȳst* 'storm', together with a number of derived forms with the prefix *ġe-*, e.g. *ġecynd* 'nature' (also frequently neuter), *ġehyġd* 'thought', *ġemynd* 'mind', *ġesċeaft* 'creation', *ġeþeaht* 'thought', *ġeþyld* 'patience', *ġewyrht* 'deed'.[2]

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[1] *Ǣ* is usually uninflected except in the gen.dat.pl., where *ǣa, ǣwum* are found. But alongside uninflected forms, new acc.gen.dat.sg. *ǣwe* is formed, and hence analogical nom.sg. *ǣw*.

[2] Several fem. *i*-stems, especially abstracts, tend to transfer to neut. gender during the OE period. For discussion and exemplification, see §3.134. On lack of *i*-umlaut in some of these forms, see §2.69&n4.

2.68 There are a few forms in early texts which may represent archaic varieties of some inflexions. For the nom.acc.pl. we find CorpGl 133 *hȳfi* 'hive', CaedH 2 *maecti* (M), *mehti* (L). *Hȳfi* occurs alongside a number of other forms with *-e*, but EpGl 764 *uuyrdae* 'Fates' already shows an ō-stem inflexion, possibly alongside the difficult 605 *flēti* 'curds', on which see

Dahl (1938: 174–5) and the *DOE:* **fleote**[3]. *Maecti* lacks *i*-umlaut, whilst *mehti* has *i*-umlaut. The proper interpretation of all the above forms remains difficult. LRid 9 *uyrdi* gen.sg. is not easily explained,[1] although it appears to be genuine, see Smith (1978: 34), also Hogg (1992b: §6.53).

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[1] Although *-i* here is usually derived from PIE **-eys*, a presumed ablaut variant of normal **-oys*, there is no evidence for the preservation of such an inflexion in other Gmc languages, and so this idea seems rather speculative. Therefore Campbell (1977: §605) would explain *-i* as introduced by analogy to the original acc.pl. inflexion, since he suggests a similar analogy to explain the appearance of *-e* rather than ***-a* in the gen.sg. of *ō*-stems; but cf. §2.40n4 above.

2.69 The primary characteristic of *i*-stem nouns is that they show *i*-umlaut of the root vowel or the PGmc equivalent of vowel harmony, hence *dǣd*, *wine*, so distinguishing these nouns from *a*- and *ō*-stems. Additionally, light stems should not have gemination of the final consonant, e.g. *wine*, which distinguishes these nouns from light *ja*-, *jō*-stems. However, this situation is obscured by developments in late PGmc and OE. In PIE, neuter nouns of the *s*-stem class were formed with **-os* in the nom.sg. and **-es-* in the gen.sg. due to ablaut alternation, see §2.95 for discussion, and in Gmc these developed as **-az*, **-iz-*, respectively. In PGmc, the variant **-iz-* seems to have been levelled into the nom.acc.sg. from the other cases, cf. Got *riqis* 'darkness', etc. Consequently, *s*-stem nouns could transfer to the *i*-stem class as a result of the equation of the nom.sg. ending **-iz* in the two stem classes. Since, as is noted in §2.55&n1, neut. *i*-stems were extremely rare in PGmc, it may be that all, or almost all, such neuts originally belonged to the *s*-stems. But a consequence of transferral to the *i*-stem class is that umlauted forms may exist alongside unumlauted forms, due to the ablaut variation noted above. Hence we find *helt*, *ġebann*, *ġecund*,[1] *ġefōg*, *ġeheald*, *ġehnāst*, *ġewealc* beside the umlauted forms cited in §2.64. Some other original neut. *s*-stems transfer their gender on becoming *i*-stems, hence masc. *bere*, *eġe*, *hete*, *sele*, *siġe*, see §2.57a. In these cases *i*-umlaut is always present,[2] and their original status is determinable only comparatively, cf. Got **baris* (from which is derived *barizeins* 'of barley' adj.), *agis*, *hatis*, *sigis*, or by the presence of related forms in *-or* < **-az*, e.g. *salor* 'hall', *sigor* 'victory'.[3] A further Gmc development appears to account for the absence of *i*-umlaut in derived abstract fem. nouns in PIE **-ti-* such as *ġesċeaft*, *ġeþeaht* (§2.67), which may have been influenced in PGmc by similar *ō*-stem abstract nouns in PIE **-tā-*, e.g. OE *ōht* 'enmity', cf. *ōga* 'terror'.[4]

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[1] Found only at ÆHomM 1.159 *ġecunde*.

[2] Note, however, the *a*-stem variant of *sele*, namely neut. *sæl* ~ *salu*, without *i*-umlaut.

[3] The number of these nouns is necessarily doubtful; to the above some have added *hyġe*, but this is not supported by Got *hugis* gen.sg.

[4] See Kluge (1926: §127). As Brunner (1965: §261) remarks, these nouns are not likely to have been *s*-stems originally, even though they are also attested as neuters; and perhaps to be explained the same way is *meaht* alongside *miht*, though the stem of the verb *mæġ* 'can' (2sg. *meaht*) may have exerted analogical influence.

2.70 Names of nationalities, which are found only in the plural, form a special subset of masc. *i*-stems, for they have nom.acc.pl. in *-e*, thus showing the predicted development of the PGmc inflexion, see §2.56&n1. They decline as follows:

Nom.	Engle *English*
Acc.	Engle
Gen.	Engla
Dat.	Englum

Typical examples of such names are: *Beorniċe* 'Bernicians', *Dene* 'Danes',[1] *Dēre* 'Deirans', *Myrċe* 'Mercians', *Norþ(an)-*, *Sūþ(an)hymbre* 'North-, Southumbrians', *Seaxe* 'Saxons', *Ēġipte* 'Egyptians', *Rōmane* 'Romans', *Perse* 'Persians'.[2] Also to be included in this type are the pluralia tantum *lēode* 'people',[3] *ylde* 'men', *ylfe* 'elves'. Suffixal *ware*, as in *burgware* 'citizens', *Rōmware* 'Romans', is a transfer into this class on the basis of the fem. *ō*-stem *waru*, and the two can co-exist.[4] A few of the above, in particular *Seaxe*, *Myrċe* and compounds in *-sǣte* such as *Sumorsǣte* 'people of Somerset', have their gen. in *-(e)na* from the *n*-stems, whilst forms such as *Sūþriġe* 'people of Surrey' may have either gen. form. Since the form *Seaxan* 'Saxons' occurs throughout the period and is also an *n*-stem in OSax *Sahson*, it is reasonable to assume that the word transfers to the *i*-stems but retains the original gen. inflexion, which then is applied to related names, see Girvan (1931: §280a2).[5,6]

[1] But with gen. *Deniġea* alongside *Dena* in Beo, see §2.61n1.

[2] But names of foreign, esp. less frequent and classical, nationalities are often found in Latin forms, e.g. *Egipti*, *Persi*. Note also *Crēcas*, *Perseas*.

[3] *Lēod* 'man' masc.sg. does occur, but perhaps it should be taken separately. Probably under the influence of *þēod* 'people', *lēode* appears to have been reanalysed as an *ō*-stem plural, for we find a nom.acc.pl. in *-a* in WS (including poetry) and regularly in Li. See Hamp (1977), with references.

[4] For the opposite view, that *ware* is the original form and that *waru* is a later formation, see Girvan (1931: §280a2), Dahl (1938: 164–5).

[5] It therefore seems inappropriate to take this set as a separate sub-class, as is apparently done in Campbell (1977: §610.7). Beo *Ēotena* 'Jutes' gen. (3×) is thus not surprising, as the name was like *Seaxna* in having original *n*-stem forms; possibly Beo *Ēotenum* dat. (2×) shows extension of *-n-* from the gen. (cf. §2.87), but more likely the scribe, unfamiliar with the by his day obscure national name, took <eotena> to be *eotena* 'giants' gen.pl. and assumed <eotum> in his exemplar was therefore an error for *eotenum* 'giants', see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 171).

[6] To these examples should be added occasional -*waran*, alongside *ware*. In Ælfric the form is particularly frequent in *ċeasterġewaran* ‘citizens’.

4 u-*stem nouns*

2.71 This stem class is in origin parallel to the *i*-stems, and thus nouns could be of all three genders, although neuters were again very rare: Got *faihu* (= OE *feoh* ‘cattle’, transferred early to the *a*-stems), *filu* (= Angl *feolu* ‘many’, a relic form; cf. WS *fela*, from an oblique case-form), see also §2.73&n1. There is no distinction between the paradigms of masculine and feminine nouns of this stem class in Gmc.

2.72 In EWS, both masc. and fem. *u*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:[1]

	Light	**Heavy**
Singular		
Nom.	sunu *son*	hand[2] *hand*
Acc.	sunu	hand
Gen.	suna	handa
Dat.	suna	handa
Plural		
Nom.	suna	handa
Acc.	suna	handa
Gen.	suna	handa
Dat.	sunum	handum

The only distinction between light and heavy stems is found in the nom.acc.sg., where, due to apocope, see §2.76, the heavy stems are inflexionless, whilst the light stems retain final -*u*.

[1] *Sunu* is masc., and a comparable fem. noun would be *duru* ‘door’; *hand* is fem., and a comparable masc. noun would be *feld*. The particular examples have been chosen because of their high frequency.

[2] On the etymology, see Devleeschouwer (1974).

2.73 This class, though sparsely represented, nevertheless contains a few nouns of very high frequency, and amongst the 100 most frequent noun lexemes, see §2.7, the following occur: *sunu* ‘son’, *winter* ‘winter’ (both masc.), *hand* ‘hand’ (fem.). Also originally to be included here is *dēað* ‘death’ (fem.), although it always has the inflexions of the *ō*-stems.

Additional examples of *u*-stems include:

(a) masc. light: *medu* ‘mead’,[1] *sidu* ‘custom’, *spitu* ‘spit (for cooking)’[2] and a few nouns which are attested only in nom.acc.sg. forms: *bregu* ‘prince’, *heoru* ‘sword’, *lagu* ‘lake’, together with *magu* ‘youth’ which has nom.acc.pl. *magas* and also a nom.sg. *maga* from the *n*-stems.[3]

(b) masc. heavy: *ford* ‘ford’, *weald* ‘weald’, *æppel* ‘apple’, *winter* ‘winter’,[4] all of which have many forms with the inflexions of *u*-stems; *eard* ‘country’, *færeld* ‘journey’,[5] *flōd* ‘flood’, *hād* ‘person’, *hearg* ‘shrine’, all of which are much more frequently found as *a*-stems.[6]

(c) fem. light: *duru* ‘door’,[7] *nosu* ‘nose’.

(d) fem. heavy: *cweorn* ‘mill’, *flōr* ‘floor’, both of which transfer to the ō-stems, and *flōr* may also become a masc. *a*-stem, as at Beo 725, see §3.137.

[1] Occasionally neut., as in Lch2 52.1.16, 53.1.13 *medo*, see Ross (1954: 98). For other, later, forms of *medu*, see §3.119(1).

[2] Apart from the form *spitu*, there is a dat.sg. Notes2 11.71 *spite*, which is from the *a*-stems, and a dat.pl. ÆGram 89.12 *spitum*, which could be from either class.

[3] When serving as the first constituent of a compound, the relic *u*-stems *friðu*- ‘peace’, *leoðu*- ‘limb’ retain -*u*-, but in isolation they are either neut. *a*-stems, *frið*, *lið* or, in the former case, a fem. ō-stem *friðu*, perhaps by association with forms such as *strengþu*, see §2.37, or simply *ġyfu* ‘gift’, since the initial syllable is light.

[4] And hence, by association, *sumor* ‘summer’. For discussion of *wintru* ‘winters’, a neut. form, see §3.119n6.

[5] At CP(H) 257.9 *færelta* gen.sg. Note also ClGl 1.4071 *færeltu* nom.sg. with inflexional -*u*.

[6] And then *flōd* is sometimes neut.

[7] There are late forms such as *dyru* nom.pl., *dyre* dat.sg., which appear to be on the analogy of *hnutu*, see van Helten (1910: 471).

2.74 The paradigm of *sunu* can be traced back to an early PGmc paradigm of the following type, with the same inflexions on heavy as on light stems:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*sunuz	*sunawez[1]
Acc.	*sunum	*sununz
Gen.	*sunauz	*sunewōom
Dat.	*sunōu[2]	*sunumiz

[1] For this and the acc.pl., see further the discussion in §2.75n1.

[2] In origin a locative ending, PIE *-*ōu*.

2.75 The phonological development of the forms cited above would produce a prehistoric OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*sunu	*sunō[1]
Acc.	*sunu	*sunō
Gen.	*sunō	*suniwō̃
Dat.	*sunō	*sunum

The acc.pl. form must be the result of syncretism with the nom.pl., as also occurs in, for example, masc. *a*-stems, cf. §2.14.

[1] The usual reconstruction for the PGmc nom.pl. itself is **-ewez*, which regularly gives Got *-jus* (*sunjus*, *handjus*, etc.), and clearly OE *-a* cannot be a descendant of that PGmc form. Following in part a suggestion by C.E. Bazell, see Campbell (1977: §612n1), it may be possible to suppose a development of **-ewez* > **-euz*. This would eventually give a normal diphthong **-eu*, but any subsequent development to *-a* seems obscure. See further the objections of Bammesberger (1985a: 366). The usual assumption is that *-a* reflects PGmc **-awez*, an ablaut alternant of the usual PGmc form, which could develop as **-awiz* > **-auz* > **-au*, with subsequent development as for the gen.dat.sg. But there is no evidence outside of OE, in any IE language, for such an ablaut alternant. Bammesberger (1985a), acting on a suggestion of Dahl (1938: 182), argues that *-a* represents the reflex of a dual inflexion.

2.76 The development of this paradigm into OE is almost entirely regular. In the nom.acc.sg., final **-u* would be apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20), but *-u* would otherwise remain, giving the contrast *sunu* : *hand*. In all the other inflexions except dat.pl., */oː/ is shortened in Pre-OE to */ɑ/ (Hogg 1992b: §§6.27(4), 28), and this accounts for all forms, except that in the gen.pl. **-iwō̃* was replaced by analogy to the *a*-stem ending, see §2.61.

2.77 Amongst early forms, the only one which requires discussion is RuneAuzon *fisċflōdu* ‘fish-flood’ (lit.). This is sometimes analysed as an acc.pl. with original *-u* < **-unz* (so Dahl, 1938: 182), sometimes as an error for *fisċflōd up* (Chadwick, 1912: 69n4).[1] More plausible than either of these explanations is the claim by Ball (1988: 110–11) that *-flōdu* is an *n*-stem because it is the second constituent of a compound.[2]

[1] Chadwick’s idea, though endorsed by Brunner (1965: §273A4) and Campbell (1977: §346n2), faces insuperable objections *metri causa*: see Fulk (1992: 378–9&n64).

[2] On *aetgāēru*, see §2.49n1.

III Consonantal stems

1 n-*stem nouns*

2.78 Nouns belonging to this class could be of all three genders, and we can reconstruct for PGmc clear differences in inflexion between masc. and fem. nouns in addition to expected differences between masc. and neut. nouns in the nom.acc.sg.&pl., see further §2.84ff. The vast majority of *n*-stems are formed with the PIE ablauting suffix **-en-/-on-/-ēn-/-ōn-/-n-* and are often called *ōn*-stems because of the shape of the suffix in the PIE nom.sg. This usage is followed here, in order to distinguish this class from a minority class which appears to consist only of feminine Gmc de-adjectival formations and which is usually called the *īn*-stem class. It should be remembered, however, that the suffixal vowel of *ōn*-stems was in ablaut variation as mentioned above.[1] The *ōn*-stems are discussed in §§2.80–7 and the *īn*-stems in §§2.88–90.

[1] For examples of OE reflexes of variant ablaut grades, see §2.87.

2.79 For early PGmc we may assume for all consonantal stems a shared set of inflexional endings which were added to the class-forming suffix that ended the stem or, in the case of the root-stems, directly to the root. These inflexions were as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*-z/-Ø	*-iz
Acc.[1]	*-um	*-unz
Gen.	*-(a)s[2]	*-ōom[3]
Dat.-Instr.	*-i	*-(u)miz

The usual form of the nom.sg. was presumably **-z* < PIE **-s*, but in uter consonantal stems, the nom. sg. in PIE lacked **-s* and had a long vowel in the root or stem-forming suffix, e.g. PIE **dōn* nom.sg., **dont-m̥* acc.sg. ‘tooth’, probably as the result of compensatory lengthening upon loss of **-s*.[4] In Gmc, the *n*-stems retain this irregularity, whilst other consonantal stems for the most part have reintroduced the oblique stem to the nom.sg.,[5] and all these but the *r*-stems have reintroduced **-z* as the nom.sg. inflexion, see Bammesberger (1990a: 190–2).

[1] Of course, for neut. nouns the acc. would be identical to the nom.

[2] On the gen.sg., see §2.6n4.

[3] On trimoric vowels like **ōo*, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.27&n1) and §2.6n2 above. The gen.pl. ending apparently was trimoric in consonant stems and *i-* and *u*-stems as well as *a-* and *ō*-stems, see Jasanoff (2003: 22).

[4] Such is the argument of Szemerényi (1996: §§6.2.7.1–6); cf. Bammesberger (1990a: 166–8), entertaining the older view of a lengthened ablaut grade. In the example given, the development of the nom.sg. is **dont-s* > **dons-s* > **dōn*. On other problems with the vocalism, see Lass (1986).

[5] A prominent exception is OE *fōt* ‘foot’ and its Gmc cognates.

(a) ōn-*stems*

2.80 In EWS, *ōn*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	guma *man*	ēaġe *eye*[1]	tunge *tongue*
Acc.	guman	ēaġe	tungan
Gen.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Dat.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Plural			
Nom.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Acc.	guman	ēagan	tungan
Gen.	gumena	ēagena	tungena
Dat.	gumum	ēagum	tungum

As may be seen, the only differences in inflexion among the genders arise in the nom.sg. and, with neuters only, the acc.sg.

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[1] On the palatalized consonant here, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.41(1), 42), and note especially the analogically extended palatalized consonant of CP 273.8, 287.12 *ēaġean*.

2.81 This class contains a very large number of masc. and fem. nouns, comprising 10–15% of the total number of nouns in OE, see §2.7. The number of neut. nouns which remain in OE, however, is extremely small, see below for details. Amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, the following *ōn*-stems occur:

(a) masc.: *līċhama* 'body', *mōna* 'moon' (occasionally fem., probably under Lat influence), *nama* 'name',[1] *wita* 'sage';
(b) neut.: *ēaġe* 'eye';
(c) fem.: *ċyriċe* 'church', *eorþe* 'earth', *heorte* 'heart', *sunne* 'sun'.

The only other neut. *ōn*-stems are: *ēare* 'ear' and *wange* 'cheek' (along with *þunwange* 'temple (of the head)'), which has a variety of other inflexions: gen.sg. *wonges*, dat.sg. *-wange*, nom.pl. *wangas*, *-wonge*, *-wonga*, gen.pl. *-wonga*. The range of *ōn*-stems can be observed from the following typical examples:[2]

(a) masc.: *anda* 'envy', *andsaca* 'adversary', *bana* 'slayer', *bera* 'bear', *boga* 'bow', *cnapa* 'boy', *crabba* 'crab', *docga* 'dog', *eafora* 'son', *ġefā* 'enemy',[3] *ġefēa* 'joy', *ġefēra* 'companion', *flota* 'sailor', *frēa* 'lord', *ġealga* 'gallows', *hana* 'cock', *lida* 'sailor', *naca* 'boat', *nefa* 'nephew', *rā* 'roe', *sċucca* 'demon', *steorra* 'star', *twēo* 'doubt', *þearfa* 'pauper', *wēa* 'woe';

(b) fem.: *ælmesse* ‘alms’, *bēo* ‘bee’, *burne* ‘stream’, *cēo* ‘crow’ (see §3.114n5), *ċeole* ‘throat’, *cuppe* ‘cup’, *cwene* ‘woman’, *dā* ‘doe’, *flā* ‘arrow’, *folde* ‘earth’, *hearpe* ‘harp’, *hrūse* ‘earth’, *næddre* ‘adder’, *rēo* ‘blanket’, *sēo* ‘pupil of eye’, *tā* ‘toe’, *þō* ‘clay’, *wīse* ‘manner’, *wulle* ‘wool’.

[1] This and fem. *heorte* (below) were originally PGmc neuters.

[2] There are considerably fewer fem. *ōn*-stems than masc. ones.

[3] The paradigm of vowel-final *ōn*-stems follows that of the other nouns, with some marginal but predictable differences. For details and discussion, see §§3.110–15.

2.82 OE inherited from PGmc a sub-class of nouns in which the *ōn*-suffix was preceded by */j/, hence *jōn*-stems. In OE this sub-class inflects according to the paradigms set out in §2.80 and hence is not to be distinguished from the simple *ōn*-stems, although the nouns are recognizable from the presence of *i*-umlaut in the root vowel and/or WGmc gemination. Hence we find examples of the type: *bylda* ‘builder’, *dēma* ‘judge’, *wyrhta* ‘worker’ (all masc.), *bēċe* ‘beech’,[1] *byrne* ‘corselet’, *dǣġe* ‘baker’ (all fem.), which show *i*-umlaut; and: *wræċċa* ‘exile’ (masc.), *smiþþe* ‘smithy’ (fem.), *beriġe* ‘berry’ (fem.) which show either gemination or retention of /j/ after /r/.[2]

[1] On the etymology, see §2.111n4. On late developments, see §3.143.

[2] For other *ōn*-stems which in PGmc differed morphologically in ways parallel to the *jōn*-stems, see Bammesberger (1990a: 183ff.). Such nouns are not to be distinguished from simple *ōn*-stems in OE.

2.83 The most important suffixes associated with the *ōn*-stems are the fem. agentive suffixes *-estre*,[1] *-iċġe*,[2] the former of which is WS, the latter Angl, see Schabram (1970). Typical examples of these suffixes are: *bæcestre* ‘baker’,[3] *bīgenġestre* ‘female worshipper’, *byrdestre*, *-iċġe* ‘female weaver’, *cempestre* ‘female soldier’, (-)*cennestre*, *-iċġe* ‘mother’, *dryiċġe* ‘sorceress’,[4] *fiðelestre* ‘female fiddler’, *hearpestre* ‘female harper’, *hlēapestre* ‘female dancer’, *luf(i)estre* ‘female lover’, *sċeriċġe* ‘actress’, *synniċġe* ‘sinful woman’, and others. Other, less frequent suffixes which also form *ōn*-stems are: *-ele*, as in *hacele* ‘cloak’, *swingele* ‘scourge’ and many Lat loans such as *cugele* ‘cowl’, *fæcele* ‘torch’, *ferele* ‘rod’, *fifele* ‘buckle’, all from Lat first-declension nouns in *-ul(l)a*; *-iġe* in *mōdriġe* ‘maternal aunt’;[5] the quasi-suffix *-bora* ‘bearer’[6] in *mundbora* ‘protector’, *rǣdbora* ‘counsellor’, *sweordbora* ‘swordsman’, etc.

[1] This suffix derives alternately from PGmc **-astrijōn-* and **-istrijōn-*, see Kluge (1926: §§48–51), and thus OE *-estre* might or might not be expected to produce umlaut of the root vowel and, under appropriate conditions, affrication. In fact, umlaut (and, presumably, affrication) is almost entirely confined to those examples in which the verb from which the noun is derived normally shows umlaut. Thus, for example, there is umlaut in *lǣrestre* ‘female teacher’ (cf. *lǣran* ‘teach’), *bepǣċestre* ‘harlot’ (cf. *bepǣċan*

'deceive') but not in *luf(i)estre* 'female lover' (cf. *lufian* 'love'), *hlēapestre* 'female dancer' (cf. *hlēapan* 'spring'). An exception is *cempestre* 'female soldier' (cf. *campian* 'fight'), perhaps derived instead from *cempa* 'warrior'.

[2] Historically these are *jōn*-stems; *-iċġe* < **-iggjōn* shows WGmc gemination and OE palatalization and affrication.

[3] Originally fem. but also used for eunuchs, and then used to gloss Lat *pistor* as well as *pistrix* 'miller or baker'.

[4] On the quantity of the root vowel, see §2.57n4.

[5] But *hlǣfdiġe* 'lady' is an obscured compound (*hlǣf-dīġe*).

[6] The simplex *bora* appears to occur only at AldV 3.1.72.

2.84 The inflexional patterns of the *ōn*-stems were restructured after the PGmc period, but on the basis of comparative evidence, the following paradigms may be assumed very tentatively for an early stage of PGmc:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	*ʒumōom	*auʒōn	*tungōn
Acc.	*ʒumunum[1]	*auʒōn	*tungūnum[1]
Gen.	*ʒumenaz	*auʒenaz	*tungenaz
Dat.	*ʒumeni	*auʒeni	*tungeni
Plural			
Nom.	*ʒumanez	*auʒanō	*tunganez
Acc.	*ʒumununz[1]	*auʒanō	*tungūnunz[1]
Gen.	*ʒumanōom	*auʒanōom	*tunganōom
Dat.	*ʒumonmiz[2]	*auʒonmiz	*tungonmiz

On the difficulties that attend reconstruction of the PGmc forms, due to subsequent extensive analogical remodelling, see Ringe (2006: 274–6), with references. The nominative singular is particularly difficult: see Jasanoff (2002). The Gothic and North Germanic *n*-stems suggest a rather different sort of paradigm.

[1] In these forms, PIE **o* or **ō* has resulted in PGmc **ū̆* before **u* in the following syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34). To the contrary, Bammesberger (1990a: 169) regards the suffix **-un-* in the acc.sg.masc. as a secondary formation derived from the dat.pl.

[2] The vowel **-o-* in the ending **-onmiz* is assumed to have remained (later to become **-u-*), rather than changed to **-a-*, on the same basis as described in Hogg (1992b: §3.34), see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, 47). The paradigm is thus perhaps not precisely a synchronic representation, since **o* has already developed to **u* in the cases addressed in n1. On the later development of the ending, see §2.85. Alternatively, the *n*-suffix may have appeared in the PIE reduced grade, giving the PGmc ending **-un-miz*, see Bammesberger (1990a: 170).

2.85 The Pre-OE paradigms that must underlie the EWS ones given in §2.80 appear to have been the following:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	*ʒumō	*auʒa	*tunga
Acc.	*ʒumun	*auʒa	*tungun
Gen.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Dat.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Plural			
Nom.	*ʒuman	*auʒan	*tungan
Acc.	*ʒumun	*auʒan	*tungun
Gen.	*ʒumanō̄	*auʒanō̄	*tunganō̄
Dat.	*ʒumum	*auʒum	*tungum

It will be seen that in most cases the stem formative, whose vowel alternated *e* ~ *a* ~ *o* ~ *u* ~ *ō* in PGmc, has been standardized as *-*an*-, or was to be so standardized at a later date, in the instance of *-*un*.[1] Most of these inflexions then develop unchanged into EWS. In the masc.nom.sg., final */oː/ is shortened to /ɑ/ (Hogg, 1992b: §§6.27(4), 6.28), whilst in the neut.fem.nom.sg., */ɑ/ is subject to regular first fronting to */æ/ > /e/ (ibid.: §6.2). The usual form of the gen.pl. is -*ena*,[2] since in a sequence of two unstressed back vowels the first vowel generally shifts in OE to /ə/, see ibid: §6.64. Only the dat.pl. inflexion poses particular difficulties. Here it is assumed that *-*onmiz* developed to *-*ummiz*, with later degemination and regular loss of *-*iz*, see §2.84n2. It is of course also possible that OE -*um* is analogical, since this is the usual ending in other stem classes.

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[1] Retention of *-*un* into Pre-OE is necessary to account for certain Nbr developments, see §§2.86, 3.108.

[2] For other forms, see §2.86.

2.86 In the earliest texts there are a number of words with nom.sg.fem -*æ*, showing an earlier state of that inflexion, for details of which see Hogg (1992b: §6.49). Of more interest are RuneAuzon *galgu* 'gallows' acc.sg.masc., CædH *foldu* 'earth' acc.sg.fem., LRid *eorðu* 'earth' acc.sg.fem. These may show the regular development of unlevelled *-*ū̆num*, see ibid.: §3.34, with Nbr loss of final -*n* (ibid.: §7.98).[1] An early example of gen.pl. -*ana* (§2.85) is seen in CorpGl 687 -*doccana* 'muscles', and this form remains regular in lNbr and frequent in Ru1, see §3.108. In poetry especially there is a strong tendency to syncopate the medial vowel after a heavy syllable, hence *brōgna* 'terrors, monsters', *ēagna* 'eyes', *ūhtna* 'pre-dawns'.[2] In some late texts a sometimes syncopated dat.pl. ending -*num* is found rarely: AldV 13.1 (Nap) 3370 *nefenum* 'nephews', 3843 *tānum* 'toes', *lēonum* 'lions' (several times in Ælfric); on *oxnum* 'oxen', see §2.87n1; on *Ēotenum* 'Jutes', §2.70n5.

[1] For further discussion, see Bammesberger (1990a: 169), but also see §3.108 for possibly relevant forms in lNbr, also Ross (1937: 82–7).

[2] This is also common with proper names, hence *Seaxna* 'of the Saxons' and similar forms, see §2.70.

2.87 Two *ōn*-stems show variation throughout the period. *Oxa* 'ox' has gen.pl. *oxna* alongside *oxena* and dat.pl. *oxnum*.[1] *Oxna* is the usual form in Lch and is found occasionally in some Anglian and Anglian-derived texts, as well as in some charters, whilst Ælfric uses *oxena*. *Oxna* (cf. Got *auhsne*) and *oxnum* probably represent a zero-grade ablaut variant of the *n*-suffix, perhaps also to be reconstructed in nom.pl. **oxsniz* > **œxsn*, giving (with syllabification of the final sonorant) PsGl(A) *oexen* (2×), lNbr *exen*, *exin* (extended also to the acc.pl.) beside the usual *oxan*.[2] The usually fem. plural *ēastron* 'Easter' nom.acc. is from the lengthened grade *-ōn-*, but its nom.sg. is regular *ēastre*. It also occurs with an *a*-stem neut. plural *ēastru*, *ēastro*, showing a retained *-u*.[3]

[1] The latter occurs only in Ch 328 (2×), a contemporary charter dated 858, and so probably not showing the late syncope even after heavy syllables that is discussed in Hogg (1992b: §6.71). It is possible that this is an archaism (the usual form is *oxum*), but this would require a different analysis of the dat.pl. of *ōn*-stems in PGmc than that offered in §2.85, and so it is usually regarded as analogical to the gen.pl. The supposition that it is an archaism is tempting because the gen.pl. certainly is, cf. Got *aúhsnē* gen.pl., whilst the usual gen.pl. ending in Got masc. *n*-stems is *-anē*.

[2] Alternatively, the PIE ablaut grade of the *n*-suffix may have been **-en-*, producing PGmc nom.pl. **oxsiniz*, with the same outcome.

[3] For the inflexion of vowel-final *ōn*-stems, e.g. *ġefēa* 'joy', see §3.110ff.

(b) īn-*stems*

2.88 There existed in PGmc a group of *n*-stems bearing the suffix **-īn-*, reflected e.g. in Got *managei*, pl. *manageins* 'crowd'. These nouns were all fem. de-adjectival formations. By the OE period, however, all these nouns had transferred to the ō-stems under the influence of the parallel fem. nouns with the suffix **-iþō*.[1] Examples of these nouns are: *byldu* 'boldness', *brǣdu* 'breadth', *bysġu* 'trouble', *enġu* 'narrowness', *fyllu* 'fullness', *hǣlu* 'health', *hǣtu* 'heat', *hyldu* 'favour', *lenġu*, *lenġeo* 'length', *meniġu*, *meniġeo* 'multitude', *miċelu* 'greatness', *ofermēdu* 'pride', *snyttru* 'wisdom', *strenġu*, *strenġeo* 'strength', *þēostru* 'darkness', *wæstmbæru* 'fertility', *wlenċu*, *wlenċeo* 'pride', *wyrþu* 'honour', *yldu* 'age'.[2] Spellings like *lenġeo*, *meniġeo* imply that transferral to the ō-stems was relatively late, after the palatalization of stem-final *g*.

[1] For a very different account, see Ringe (2002: 149&n42), and cf. Bammesberger (1975).

[2] Theoretically, **oferfyrru* 'great distance' should also be included here, although only Or 19.20 *oferfyrre* dat.sg. occurs.

2.89 The inflexion of these nouns, which appear mostly in the sg. only, normally follows that of other *ō*-stems, for which see §2.35.[1] However, acc.gen.dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. forms in *-u*, *-o* occasionally occur alongside the expected forms, e.g. PsGl(A) 60.4 *strenġu* gen.sg., suggestive of an invariant stereotyped form, see Girvan (1931: §287a2).[2]

[1] Campbell (1977: §473) explains oblique *-e* as the correct phonological result of the loss of final **-n* after original **-ī-*. Such a development is difficult to substantiate, but see the remarks on the ending of the subjunctive plural in EWS, §6.24.

[2] Additionally, some of these nouns have alternative forms from other classes, e.g. *hǣte* (*ōn*-stem), *þēostre* (*ja*-stem), as well as individual forms especially from the *a*-stems, e.g. DurRitGl 83.8 *ældes* gen.sg.; on the latter type see also §3.75.

2.90 The principal sign of the origin of these nouns is the presence of *i*-umlaut in the stem vowel, as in all the examples quoted in §2.88. Additionally, spellings such as *meniġeo* show palatalization of the stem-final velar.[1] A particular characteristic of these nouns is the usual presence of inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg., where it might have been expected to undergo apocope after a heavy syllable. Apocopated forms such as *fyll*, *hǣl*, *lenġ*, *yld* are found in LWS, the last three in Ælfric, and are most probably due to the association with *iþō*-stems and their development in LWS, see §2.37&n5.

[1] On the other hand, it is difficult to interpret unambiguously spellings of the type <menigu> in which there is no diacritic to indicate the value of the consonant, see Hogg (1992b: §2.68). However, the variant *meniu*, frequent in Ælfric, implies that palatalization was always present, as do post-Conquest developments.

2 r-*stem nouns*

2.91 By the time of PGmc, the originally productive PIE *r*-stems were restricted to nouns expressing kinship relations, and hence in OE the only *r*-stems which persisted were the five nouns *brōðor* 'brother', *dohtor* 'daughter', *fæder* 'father', *mōdor* 'mother', *sweostor* 'sister'. Of these, *brōðor*, *fæder*, *mōdor* are amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7. The paradigms of these five *r*-stems in EWS were as follows:

Singular					
Nom.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Acc.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Gen.	brōðor	dohtor	fæder	mōdor	sweostor
Dat.	brēðer	dehter	fæder	mēder	sweostor
Plural					
Nom.	brōðor, -ru[1]	dohtor, -ra[1]	fæd(e)ras	(mōdru, -a)[2]	sweostor[3]
Acc.	brōðor, -ru[1]	dohtor, -ra[1]	fæd(e)ras	(mōdru, -a)[2]	sweostor[3]
Gen.	brōðra	dohtra	fæd(e)ra	mōdra	sweostra
Dat.	brōðrum	dohtrum	fæd(e)rum	mōdrum	sweostrum

The formative *-r-* originally was preceded by an ablauting vowel, see further §2.92.

[1] Usually with syncope, i.e. *brōðru*, *dohtru*, *dohtra*, but cf. in LWS PsGl(D,E) *dohtora*. Also in LWS, *dohtru* is attested and *brōðra* is not uncommon. In EWS, *dohtra* is actually attested only in the acc.pl., at Or 2 2.39.2.

[2] Neither form occurs in EWS for nom.acc.pl., although they are to be found in later texts. Ælfric has *mōdru* at ÆCHom II 12.2 124.491.

[3] Also *swustra* not infrequently in LWS, but rarely *swustru*: ÆCHom II 260.15, Mk(WSCp) 10.30.

2.92 The crucial factor in the formation of these nouns is the nature of the ablauting stem formative, for the inflexions are those outlined in §2.79 (with -Ø in the nom.sg.). For the EWS paradigms cited above we may assume a base form of PGmc **-er*, which would develop to **-ær* (Hogg 1992b: §3.30 and Stiles 1988: 339), for the nom.acc.sg.pl. and zero-grade for the gen.dat.sg.pl.[1]

[1] On variations in vowel grade and results in OE, see §2.94.

2.93 In the development of the inflexional system from PGmc to EWS we can distinguish between those inflexions in which the final syllable is lost through regular phonological change and without other consequence, and those inflexions which either (i) though lost, leave an effect on the stem vowel or (ii) are retained or innovated.[1] To the first type belong nom.acc.gen.sg., to the third (type (ii)), gen.dat.pl. We deal with the other inflexions (type (i)) immediately below:

dat.sg.: here the ablaut variation would produce a PGmc structure of the type **brōþri*, and the final *-i* would remain, cf. Hogg (1992b: §3.29), long enough to cause *i*-umlaut before being apocopated. This is the source of *brēðer*, *dehter*, *mēder*,[2] whilst *swiostor* occurs once alongside *sweostor*.[3] *Fæder* has been restructured by analogy to the nom.sg.

nom.acc.pl.: it is possible that the inflexion *-u* is to be derived from acc.pl. forms with zero grade (*pace* Brunner, 1965: §285A1) and then extended to the nom.pl.; lack of apocope might then be explained as due to an alternative form with a different vowel grade, presumably from the nom.pl.[4] More likely, however, is the alternative explanation of Wright and Wright (1925: §415) that *-u* may be from the collective neut.pls. *ġebrōþru* 'brethren', *ġesweostru*. This explains *brōþru*, *swustru*, as well as forms with final *-a*, since *-a* varies freely with *-u* in such neuter plurals. Alternatively, final *-a* in *dohtra*, *mōdra*, *swustra* might be explained as derived from the ō-stems, but this will not explain *brōðra*. Still, since *brōðra* is not found in EWS, whilst *dohtra* is (1×), it may be that *brōðra* is by analogy to it, and the ending may be derived from the *ō*-stems after all. *Fæderas* is plainly re-formed on the basis of the *a*-stems.

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[1] See §2.94 on the variation in the vowel of the second (unstressed) syllable of each of these words.

[2] PsGl(A) *mōēder*, *doehter* show extension of umlaut to gen.sg. Note also Ch 1508.45 *rehtmēōdrencynn* 'direct maternal line' (with <eo> for <oe>). For discussion of levelling or extension in later texts, see §3.130.

[3] Campbell (1977: §210.2n3) records the following observations about *sweoster*. The word does not show umlaut in Nbr (Li *suoester*, *soester*, Ru2 *swester*) or in Merc (the word does not occur in PsGl(A), whilst Ru1 has *swæster*, but also *swuster*, to be derived by combinative back umlaut, Hogg (1992b: §5.109), from **swister*, with *i*-umlaut, see Brunner (1965: §285A1)). On Campbell's view, EWS nom.sg. *swiostor* (1×, Or 3 9.69.5), beside usual *sweostor*, *swostor*, may be significant, given the occurrence of *swustor* in LWS.

[4] That is, acc.pl. **brōþrunz* could have been re-formed as **brōþerunz* by analogy to nom.pl. **brōþeriz*; a similar development is found in Greek and Old Church Slavonic. But Got *brōþruns* acc.pl. suggests otherwise. A very unlikely alternative suggestion: Ross (1977).

2.94 Perhaps the only significant form in early texts is RuneAuzon *ġibrōþær* 'brothers', in which *-ær* appears to represent an earlier form of the ablaut vowel, see §2.92 and for another view Campbell (1977: §369). PsGl(A) *feadur* gen.sg. and CædH *-fadur* gen.sg. (= ON *fǫður*) may represent an archaism, cf. Sanskrit gen.sg. *pitúr* < PIE **pH̱̥tr̥s*, also Got gen.sg. *brōþrs*, though Bammesberger (1983; 1990a: 207) makes a case for origins in analogical influence from the dat.pl.[1] Also in PsGl(A), there is gemination in nom.gen.pl. *feddra(s)*, alongside ungeminated forms, and this development may underlie occasional instances of *fæder* in verse that seem to require a heavy initial syllable, see Fulk (1992: §199). The variation in the quality of the vowel of the unstressed syllable in EWS and later texts is primarily a function of vowel harmony, whereby the unstressed vowel appears as *e* after a stressed front vowel and *o* after a stressed back vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38). That is, the PGmc sequence **-er(-)* had been reduced to a syllabic /r/ in Pre-OE.[2] But in Ru2 and DurRitGl, final *-er* and *-or* are largely interchangeable, whilst in Li and Ru1, *-er* prevails.[3]

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[1] But for other inflexions PsGl(A) has forms based on nom.sg. *feder*, except *feadrum* dat.pl.

[2] It seems unnecessary to assume, with Boutkan (1992), that **-er(-)* lost all syllabicity and the remaining **-r* was then syllabified. Boutkan's further assumption that syllabification of /r/ was always to **-ur* is intended to explain forms like dat.sg. *sweostor* and *s*-stems like *sigor* 'victory'. But in the former, at least, *-or* is the natural result of the analogical removal of umlaut.

[3] This is not because of late merger of unstressed /u/ and /e/, as maintained by Boutkan (1992: 11), but because of the way syllabic sonorants are represented in each text, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38).

3 s-*stem nouns*

2.95 Although there were a few uter *s*-stems in PIE, neuters predominated, and this stem class in PGmc consisted of neuter nouns only, with stems formed from a root to which the original ablauting suffix **-es-/-os-* was added.[1] The *s*-stems, however, were subject to considerable re-formation in their development to OE, both in their treatment of the stem formative and their adoption of inflexions from the neut. *a*-stems. By normal sound change we should expect the vowel of the ablaut grade **-es-* to develop as **-i-* and then cause *i*-umlaut, whilst suffixal **-s-* > **-z-* after the unstressed vowel would develop to *-r-* by rhotacism, see Hogg (1992b: §4.15).

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[1] Some would add a zero-grade **-s-* to this series, but see §2.99n2.

2.96 Perhaps the most archaic type of paradigm is found in a variety of forms of *dōgor* 'day', as follows:[1]

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	dōēġ (Li)	dōgor (Li)
Acc.	dōēġ (Li)	dōgor (Li)
Gen.	dōgores (Beo)	dōg(o)ra (Beo)
Dat.	dōgor(e)[2] (Beo)	dōgrum (Li, Beo)

Here we can see *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel in the nom.acc.sg. due to the stem formative **-iz*,[3] which is then lost finally, whilst the other forms show retention of the suffix **-z-* > *-r* preceded by an unstressed vowel whose quality is due to vowel harmony, as in *r*-stems, see §2.94. In all cases, however, the noun has adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems. Such umlauting types are common in Angl, where PsGl(A), CorpGl, ErfGl all have nom.acc.sg. *cælf* 'calf', and DurRitGl similarly has *lemb* 'lamb'. Archaic forms of other inflexions in these nouns include PsGl(A) nom.acc.pl. *calfur*, *lombur* and Li, Ru1 *lombor*, all beside *calferu*, *lomberu*, *-o*, see also §2.99. For later examples of this umlauting type, see §3.53n2.

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[1] The forms cited here are taken either from the Lindisfarne Gospels (Li) or from *Beowulf* (Beo). The nom.acc.sg. is often re-formed as *dōgor* on the basis of the inflected forms, see §2.99. Relevant examples in EWS are CP 281.13, Or 90.16 *dōgore* dat.sg.

[2] The endingless dat.sg. occurs Beo 1395, 1797, but the latter is altered to *dōgore* under circumstances that suggest *dōgor* was what the scribe's exemplar read, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlv, xxxiii). These appear in Beo beside *dōgore* 2573, where the meter is inconclusive. The endingless form is probably best explained as an archaic instrumental in PIE **-ā*; *dōgore* has acquired an *a*-stem ending.

[3] Levelled into the nom.acc.sg., see §2.69.

2.97 In EWS the *s*-stems survive in two types only: (i) nouns in which -*r*- appears in pl. inflexions but is absent from the sg.; (ii) nouns in which -*r*- appears throughout the paradigm, including nom.acc.sg. In both types, however, *s*-stems regularly adopted the inflexions of the neut. *a*-stems, see §2.99 for exceptions. The first type is discussed in §§2.98–9, the second in §2.100.

2.98 Three nouns regularly belong to the first type above, and their paradigms are as follows:

Singular			
Nom.	ċealf *calf*	lamb *lamb*	ǣġ *egg*
Acc.	ċealf	lamb	ǣġ
Gen.	ċealfes	lambes	ǣġes
Dat.	ċealfe	lambe	ǣġe
Plural			
Nom.	ċealfru	lambru	ǣġru
Acc.	ċealfru	lambru	ǣġru
Gen.	ċealfra	lambra	ǣġra
Dat.	ċealfrum	lambrum	ǣġrum

2.99 The forms cited in §2.98 are all regular developments of these nouns after they have transferred to the neut. *a*-stems. On the final -*u* of the nom.acc.pl., see the discussion in §§3.54–5, also §3.56ff. on the relevant disyllabic type exemplified by *hēafod* 'head'. Sometimes these nouns appear to decline exactly as *hēafod*, and then there are inflexionless examples of nom.acc.pl. in some Angl texts, e.g. PsGl(A) *calfur* (2×), *lombur*, lNbr *lombor* (4×), all alongside forms with -*ru*.[1] PsGl(A) 105.20 *calfur* shows an inflexionless gen.sg. which would be the expected development of the PGmc form **kalƀuzaz*.[2] A few other words have forms which demonstrate earlier adherence to the paradigms of §2.98, the most frequent of which is *ċild* 'child'. Hence, alongside frequent forms which are not to be distinguished from neut. *a*-stems, e.g. *ċild* nom.acc.pl., we may note CP(H) 459.17 *ċilderu*. For the slightly different situation in Ælfric and other, later texts, see §§3.53–5.

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[1] One explanation for the cases with -*ur*, -*or* is that they reflect forms with stem-final non-syllabic -*r*- rather than *-*ur*-. That is, e.g., PGmc nom.acc.pl. **lambzō* develops to **lambr*, with later syllabification of *-*r* upon loss of *-*ō*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38), and see Fulk (1988: 155–6). But since it is doubtful that zero-grade *-*z*- occurred anywhere in the PGmc paradigm, it would be better to reconstruct **lambazō* (not **lambizō*: see §3.64), which would perhaps undergo syncope followed by apocope, producing Pre-OE **lambr*, see Bammesberger (1990a: 210). Alternatively, Campbell (1977: §635n1) proposes that *-*ar*- (from *-*az*-) changed to *-*or*- before *u* in the next

syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34). This explanation faces some difficulties, chief of which is that if these nouns were neuter in early Gmc, as appears to have been the case, there should not have occurred any case-forms in which PGmc **-a-* stood before **-u-* in the next syllable; thus, it would be necessary to assume, firstly, replacement of **-iz-* in the locative plural by **-az-* (since the PIE locative plural inflexion was **-su*), and, secondly, analogical extension of the resultant **-uz-* to other case-forms, though the locative plural seems an unlikely case to have exerted such analogical influence. (Note that Boutkan, 1992: 17–18, assumes that raising of PGmc **-a-* took place before **-ō-* as well as **-u-*, which would lead to the change of **-az-* to **-oz-* in the nom.acc.pl. But such an assumption would make it more difficult to explain developments in the *n*-stems, see §2.84.) As Campbell rightly remarks, it is not at all likely that *-ur*, *-or* reflects PIE **-əs-* (i.e., **-H̥s-*), a view held by some *Junggrammatiker*. See also §§3.95ff. on the synchronic status of endings subject to *u*-apocope.

[2] But explaining the appearance of **-uz-* where **-iz-* or analogical **-az-* should be expected is difficult. Bammesberger (1990a: 209–10), supported by Schlerath (1995: 259), proposes the replacement of the alternants **-iz-/-az-/-z-* by **-iz-/-az-/-uz-* in PGmc by analogy to the alternations found in stems with sonorants, e.g. *n*-stems. That there was a zero-grade form of the *z*-suffix in PGmc, however, may be doubted on the basis of comparative evidence: see Szemerényi (1996: 174), but cf. Bammesberger (1990a: 212). Possibly *calfur* is by analogy to *feadur*, see §2.94.

2.100 The second type is undoubtedly due to re-formation of older nom.acc.sg. forms on the basis of inflected forms, hence *dōgor* ‘day’, cf. §2.96&n1. Similar examples include *ēar* ‘ear of corn’, *hālor* ‘salvation’, *hæteru* ‘garments’,[1] *hōcor* ‘mockery’,[2] *hrōþor* ‘comfort’, *nicor* ‘water monster’,[3] *salor* ‘hall’, *sigor* ‘victory’ (masc.), *wildor* ‘wild animal’,[4] all without *i*-umlaut; *sċērero* ‘shears’ nom.pl. (EpGl, CorpGl only), *stǣner* ‘stone’ dat.sg. (lNbr only), both with *i*-umlaut; *hrīþer* ‘cattle’, which shows both umlauted and unumlauted forms in other cases, e.g. *hrȳðeru*, *hrūðeru* both nom.pl.[5] The vocalism *-or* of *nicor*, *sigor*, *wildor*, for expected *-er*, is usually explained as due to original suffix ablaut, i.e. PIE **-os-* alongside **-es-*, and this is probably correct, although there are phonological and morphological difficulties.[6]

[1] Recorded only in the pl., but not a plurale tantum, see Bosworth and Toller (1898: **hætera**).

[2] Found only in dat.sg. *hōcere* and the compound *hōcorwyrde*.

[3] Found only in inflected forms and in the compound *nicorhūs*. It is frequently masc.

[4] More frequently folk etymology intervenes to give *wild(d)ēor*, and the original form is found only in inflected forms and as the first constituent of a compound.

[5] A further example may be EpGl *bēġer* ‘berries’ from sg. **bēġ* (cf. *bēġbēam* ‘berry tree’), in which event lNbr *wīnbēġer*, pl. *wīnbēġera* would be a typical re-formation, see further Bately (1993: 511).

[6] Some of these difficulties are discussed in §2.99n1. Boutkan (1992: 16–18) summarizes the approaches that have been taken. His own solution is to assume that Pre-OE */r/ was always syllabified as **-ur*; but this is difficult to reconcile with the plain evidence that OE final syllabic /r/ was written <er> or <or> on the basis of the vocalism of the preceding syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38). It seems likelier that *-or* in *sigor* and the like does not develop from a syllabic consonant.

2.101 Alongside many of the forms in §2.100 are found parallel nouns with *i*-umlaut, which are generally regarded as having transferred to the *i*-stems rather than the *a*-stems, e.g. *hrēþ* ~ *hrōþor*, *sele* ~ *salor*, *siġe* ~ *sigor*. This, however, may be misleading. It seems equally possible that either the umlauted or the unumlauted (more usually the former) form of the noun could be extended throughout the paradigm, and that the noun acquired exactly the same set of inflexions in either event, as would be predicted from the gradual disappearance of the *i*-stems as a separate class, §§2.55ff.[1] For further examples, see the discussion in §2.69.

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[1] The change is not a particularly early development, since, for example, the OHG cognate of *siġe/sigor* has been transferred to the *u*-stems. The later the transfer took place, the less likely it is that the *i*-stems remained a discrete declensional category at that time.

4 *þ-stem nouns*

2.102 In OE, few traces remain of this stem class, which in PIE was formed with suffix **-t-* preceded by a vocalic element, usually the ablauting vowel **-e-/-o-*, which would give PGmc **-iþ-/-aþ-*. However, **-uþ-* also occurs in Gmc, and its possible sources are various.[1] To this stem the usual consonantal inflexions appear to have been added, and the predicted development in OE of this class would have been for the final syllable to have been lost except in the nom.sg., where the stem formative */θ/ (or */z/ < */s/ < PIE */ts/), being final, would have been lost. We should, therefore, obtain paradigms with nom.sg. having the reflex of the vocalic element that originally preceded **-þ-*, the remainder of the sg. and the nom.acc.pl. having zero inflexion, and the gen.dat.pl. having the inflexions *-a*, *-um* as in the *ōn*-stems. But in all stems the nom.sg. may be extended to the acc.sg., or, conversely, the stem with final consonant is not infrequently extended to the nom.sg.

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[1] As Bammesberger (1990a: 215n356) remarks, in some instances the stem may have ended in PIE **-wet-*. In reduced grade, this would produce PGmc **-uþ-*. Another possibility is that **u* arose from PIE **o* when **u* stood in the next syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34), as in the acc.pl., and then spread analogically to other cases.

2.103 Nouns which at least in part show signs of the expected paradigm are as follows:[1] ***ealu*** 'ale' neut., with gen.dat.sg. *ealoð* and gen.pl. *ealoða*, but also acc.sg. *ealoþ*;[2] ***hæle*** 'man' masc., with nom.pl. *hæleþ*, gen.pl. *hæleþa*, dat.pl. *hæleþum*, and alongside *hæle* the re-formed nom.acc.sg. *hæleþ* with pl. *hæleþas*, once *hæleþe* (Rim 60), like some agentive nouns in *-nd*, see §2.108; ***mæġ(e)þ*** 'maiden' fem. has gen.dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. *mæġ(e)þ*, gen.pl. *mæġeþa*, dat.pl. *mæġeþum*, but the nom.acc.sg. is always *mæġ(e)þ*; ***mōnaþ*** ‘month’ masc. has nom.pl. *mōnaþ* alongside *mōnþas* (on the syncope, see Hogg 1992b: §6.32), but otherwise follows the paradigm of the *a*-stems.

[1] *Nefa* ‘nephew’, which is cognate with Lat. *nepōs*, *nepōtis* is always an *ōn*-stem in OE.

[2] On the variety of forms of the stressed vowel, see firstly Hogg (1992b: §5.106(2)&n6), and on variation in the unstressed vowel, see ibid.: §6.60.

5 nd-*stem nouns*

2.104 This stem class comprises nominalized present participles which function as agentive nouns. These nouns are therefore formed with the characteristic OE *-end-* suffix of the pres.part., which is added directly to the root of the noun, *-e-* being lost if the root has a vocalic final, see below. In OE the pres.part. follows the paradigm of the *ja*-stems, but the *nd*-stems at least in origin share the inflexions of the root-stem nouns, on which see §§2.109–13. Almost all nouns in this stem class are masculine, the few exceptions being feminine.[1]

[1] Of these exceptions the most important is *swelgend* ‘whirlpool’, which has a dat.sg. *swelgende*, an *ō*-stem form. It contrasts with masc. *swelgend* ‘glutton’, but in late texts it may also be masc. or neut. The other exceptions are found only in learned translations, where they are examples of natural gender, and except for their being modified by fem. adjs. or translating a feminine form (e.g. *londbūend* ‘settler’ rendering Lat *colonia*), they are indistinguishable from masculines: Brunner (1965: §287) offers the examples *wealdend* ‘ruler’, *fēond* ‘enemy’, and *timbrend* ‘architect’.

2.105 In EWS, *nd*-stems typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

Singular		
Nom.	frēond *friend*	hettend *enemy*
Acc.	frēond	hettend
Gen.	frēondes	hettendes
Dat.	frīend, frēonde	hettende
Plural		
Nom.	frīend	hettend, -e, -as
Acc.	frīend	hettend, -e, -as
Gen.	frēonda	hettendra
Dat.	frēondum	hettendum

As may be observed, there are differences in inflexion between monosyllabic and disyllabic *nd*-stems in the dat.sg. and throughout the plural except dat.pl.

2.106 This class consists of a large number of agentive masc. nouns, although many are of infrequent occurrence or are restructured during the period so that their origins are not always plain from the (partial) paradigms which they form. Two *nd*-stems occur amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, namely *fēond* 'enemy', *hǣlend* 'saviour'. But amongst the more frequent nouns which are certainly *nd*-stems, typical examples include: *tēond* 'accuser',[1] like *frēond*,[2] together with the reciprocals *ġefīend* 'mutual enemies', *ġefrīend* 'mutual friends'; *āgend* 'owner', *būend* 'inhabitant', *dēmend* 'judge', *wealdend* 'ruler', *wīġend* 'warrior', all like *hettend*.

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[1] No umlauted forms occur, but note PsGl(C) 67.22 *tēonda* gen.pl.

[2] Possibly to be added here is El 359 *gōddēnd* 'benefactor' acc.pl. < **ȝōddoandiz*, although this is on the assumption that there is iterative *i*-umlaut in the second constituent, as in *endemes* < **andōmis*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.76). On the quantity of the root vowel in **-doandiz*, see §6.143.

2.107 The paradigm of *frēond* can be traced back to the early PGmc paradigm presented below, with which compare the PGmc paradigm of the root-noun *fōt* in §2.112:[1]

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*frijōndz	*frijōndiz
Acc.	*frijōndum	*frijōndunz
Gen.	*frijōndiz	*frijōndōom
Dat.	*frijōndi	*frijōndumiz

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[1] On the development in Gmc and OE of the stressed diphthong in *frēond*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.19(3)).

2.108 The development of the inflexional system from PGmc to EWS is in many respects parallel to that of root nouns, cf. §2.113. There are, however, a number of significant differences, especially in the dat.sg. and nom.acc.gen.pl., and only these forms are discussed below:[1] The most significant feature, therefore, of this stem class is that the stem vowel of monosyllabic nouns should be *i*-umlauted in the gen.dat.sg. and the nom.acc.pl.,[2,3] whilst in disyllabic nouns *i*-umlaut should have affected the vowel of the second syllable in the same inflexions. In the latter case, however, *i*-umlauted vowels are found throughout the paradigm, to the complete exclusion of unumlauted. It is less probable that this is due to influence from dat.sg. or nom.acc.pl. than that the nouns are restructured according to the form of the pres.part., which, being a *ja*-stem, see §§2.104, 4.45, 6.28, always has the form *-end-* from **-andja-*, see the discussion of dat.sg., nom.acc.pl. forms below.

dat.sg.: here final *-*i* should remain until the time of *i*-umlaut, when it would mutate the stem vowel of monosyllabic nouns before being apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20), hence EWS *frīend*, LWS *frȳnd*. But the dat.sg. can, even in EWS, be re-formed according to the paradigm of the *a*-stems, and then the stem vowel remains unumlauted and the *a*-stem inflexion -*e* appears. In disyllabic nouns the inflexion of *a*-stems is always found, but the second syllable always has the umlauted form -*end*, despite the restructuring.

nom.acc.pl.: here the WGmc loss of final *-*z* (Hogg 1992b: §3.31) meant that this inflexion then developed in parallel to the dat.sg. In disyllabic nouns, however, even in EWS the alternative inflexions -*e*, -*as* are found, e.g. Oros 47.7 *ēhtende* 'pursuers' (alongside 140.1 *ēhtend*), CP(H) *waldendas* 'rulers' (3×); -*as* is clearly from the *a*-stems, whilst -*e* is from the adjectival forms of the pres.part. and is used in order to distinguish sg. and pl. inflexions.[4] The umlauted vowel of the second syllable is equally to be derived from the pres.part. As elsewhere, the acc.pl. fell together with the nom.pl. at an early stage.

gen.pl.: monosyllabic nouns have the predicted development of the PGmc inflexion, cf. §§2.13–14, but in disyllabic nouns the EWS inflexion is from the adjectival forms of the pres.part., cf. above.[5,6]

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[1] See, in particular for the unumlauted gen.sg., the parallel forms of the root-stem masculines, §2.113.

[2] Under the assumption that the acc.pl. adopted at an early date the inflexion of the nom.pl., see further below.

[3] Late Nbr has only nom.acc.pl. *fīondas*, *frīondas* (and similar), re-formed in accordance with the *a*-stems. Similar forms are also found in Merc and in poetry, see Fulk (1992: 321), with references.

[4] Even in the conservative language of verse, the inflexion of present participles and agentive nouns in -*nd*- is not kept strictly separate, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 125, note on Beo 159), with references.

[5] For extension of this gen.pl. formation to the remainder of the plural in later texts, see §3.131.

[6] PsGl(A) *fīenda*, *fīendum*, gen.dat.pl., are most probably to be taken as restructured disyllabic forms on the basis on the pres.part. rather than as examples of extension of *i*-umlaut, see further Hogg (1992b: §5.83&n5).

6 *Root-stem nouns*

2.109 The class of root-stem nouns was formed in PIE by the direct addition of inflexional suffixes to the root of a noun, without the presence of an intervening suffixal element. Nouns in this class could be only masc. or fem., see §2.3&n3. In PGmc it is likely that the two genders shared a single set of inflexions, but in the development to OE there were various restructurings which created distinctions between the two genders. In the fem. nouns there are distinctions between light- and heavy-stemmed nouns, but these distinctions cannot be observed in masc. nouns, if only because light-stemmed masc. nouns are not found in the data.

2.110 In EWS, root nouns typically were declined according to the following paradigms:

	Masculine	**Feminine**	
		Light	**Heavy**
Singular			
Nom.	fōt *foot*	hnutu *nut*	bōc *book*
Acc.	fōt	(hnutu)	bōc
Gen.	fōtes	hnute	bēċ
Dat.	fēt	hnyte	bēċ
Plural			
Nom.	fēt	hnyte	bēċ
Acc.	fēt	hnyte	bēċ
Gen.	fōta	hnuta	bōca
Dat.	fōtum	hnutum	bōcum

The acc.sg. *hnutu* is not recorded but may be inferred from parallel forms such as *studu* 'post' acc.sg.

2.111 Although this class may have been reasonably large in PIE, in both PGmc and to an even greater extent in OE the membership was considerably reduced, so that only a small number of root nouns, mainly feminine, remain.[1] These nouns are, however, for the most part of high frequency. Thus, amongst the 100 most frequent lexemes, see §2.7, the following root-stem nouns occur: *fōt* 'foot', *man(n)* 'person',[2,3] *tōþ* 'tooth' (all masc.), *bōc* 'book',[4] *burh* 'city',[5] *niht* 'night'.[6] The only other masc. root noun recorded in OE in addition to those cited above is apparently *ōs* 'god'.[7] There are rather more fem. nouns, including:

heavy stems: *āc* 'oak',[8] *brōc* 'legging', *cū* 'cow', **dung* 'prison',[9] *ēa* 'river',[10] *furh* 'furrow', *furh* 'fir', *gāt* 'goat', *gōs* 'goose', *grūt* 'meal', *lūs* 'louse', *mūs* 'mouse', *sulh* 'plough', *turf* 'turf', *þrūh* 'trough', *wlōh* 'fringe';

light stems: *hnitu* 'nit',[11] *hnutu* 'nut', *studu* 'post';[12]

bisyllabic stems: only *meoluc* 'milk', WS beside Angl *milċ*, on which see Hogg (1992b: §3.29n3). On the apparent dat.pl. *meolcum*, Angl *milcum*, see §2.17n4.

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[1] For an extensive survey of the Gmc forms, see Griepentrog (1995).

[2] On the rather difficult question of the original stem class of this noun, see Bammesberger (1990a: 201; 2000).

[3] When *-man(n)* is the second constituent of a dithematic personal name, it always declines as an *a*-stem, thus Bede 4 260.22 *Ġearomonne* dat.sg. In Gothic, too, there occur some *a*-stem forms in compounds, but as the initial element, thus *mana-maurþrja*, *mana-seþs*. As the second element of a normal compound, however, as in *wīfman* 'woman', OE *man* follows the paradigm of the simplex even when, as occasionally occurs, the noun changes gender. The paradigm of Got *manna* 'person' is a mixture of *n*-stem and root-stem forms, and thus it is probably no coincidence that OE *n*-stem *manna* is attested mostly as acc.sg. *mannan* (174× in the *DOEC*; cf. Got *mannan* acc.sg.): very likely an original, irregular paradigm has led to the creation of analogical forms, see Bammesberger (2000).

[4] OE *bōc* 'beech' is presumably an *ō*-stem, like OSax *bōka*, though it is attested only in the nom.sg. On controversy over the etymological relation between 'book' and 'beech', see Pierce (2006).

[5] But when *-burh* is the second constituent of a fem. dithematic personal name, it takes the inflexions of the *ō*-stems, e.g. *Æþelburge* acc.dat.sg. On the relation of *burh* to *bearh* 'barrow', see Motz (1977).

[6] In WS, *niht* regularly has an umlauted stem vowel throughout the paradigm and then has inflexions which closely parallel those of the *ō*-stems except in the nom.acc.pl., which is normally *niht*. Unmutated *neaht* is rare in WS except in Lch II, where it is frequently found in the temporal locative construction *on neaht*. In Angl dialects unmutated *næht* and variants is the usual form, see further §3.127.

[7] Note MCharm 4 *ēsa* gen.pl. (2×).

[8] But as the name of a rune we find Rid 42.10 *ācas*. On the etymology, see now Seebold (1999), but cf. Lewickij (2003: 100–3).

[9] Only And 1272 *dinġ* dat.sg.

[10] But usually *ēa* throughout the sg., although Or in particular has many examples of *īe* for gen.dat.sg. The early nature of the OE evidence for inflexion as a root-stem thus tells against the claim of Seldeslachts (1992: 303), against Bammesberger (1990a: 199), that such inflexion is an OE innovation. (Transferral of any noun to the root-stems in Pre-OE is in any case difficult to credit, given how unproductive this class was after the PGmc period.) In the plural the most frequent forms are nom.acc.gen. *ēa*, dat. *ēam*, *ēaum*, but even in EWS the re-formed gen.sg. *ēas* (from the masc. *a*-stems!) is found, beside *ēan* nom.pl. (from the *n*-stems), which Ælfric appears to prefer.

[11] Only in the nom.sg. and Exod 21.28, Med 1.1 10.15 *hnite* nom.acc.pl.

[12] Also Bede 3 14.204 *styðe* (2×) dat.sg. and Alex 118 *styþeo* nom.pl., which appears to be an unusual restructuring from the *ō*-stems on the base form **styþe*. A further *ō*-stem form is OccGl 49.281 *stoðe* (after Hoad, 1978: 178; the *DOEC* has *stuðe*, but in the facsimile Hoad's reading appears to be correct: see Pulsiano 1996: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D. vi, fol. 10r) acc.pl.

2.112 The various paradigms of the root nouns can be traced back to a single early PGmc paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*fōs[1]	*fōtiz
Acc.	*fōtum	*fōtunz
Gen.	*fōtiz	*fōtōom
Dat.	*fōtī	*fōtumiz

[1] **Fōs* directly reflects PIE **pōs* < **pod-s*, cf. Greek *πούς*. The individual Gmc languages show that an analogical replacement later occurred, with extension of the oblique stem to the nom.sg., with various other adjustments.

2.113 The phonological (or analogical, see §2.112n1) development of the forms cited above would result in a Pre-OE paradigm of the following type:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	*fōt	*fōti
Acc.[1]	*fōt	*fōti
Gen.	*fōti	*fōtō̃
Dat.	*fōti	*fōtum

Although the majority of forms show a straightforward development into OE, some inflexions require further discussion:

nom.acc.sg.: fem. nouns may have adopted **-u* from the *u*-stems, cf. the masc. Gothic noun *fōtus* 'foot' and note EWS *studu* acc.sg. Alternatively, one might suggest, see Bammesberger (1990a: 191), that the nom.sg. of all root nouns was replaced by the original acc.sg. form, in which *-u* (from **-um*) would appear except when apocopated after a heavy syllable (Hogg 1992b: §6.20).[2]

gen.sg.: the predicted development in both masc. and fem. would involve *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel and then apocope of final *-i* after a heavy syllable. In masc. nouns, however, the gen.sg. is always re-formed on the basis of the *a*-stems. The predicted development is seen in heavy-stemmed fem. nouns, although scattered examples of *bōce* on the basis of the *ō*-stems are to be found, whilst the evidence from short-stemmed nouns is sparse;[3]

nom.pl.: the development here would be parallel to the gen.sg., cf. above, but note that *i*-umlaut is regularly retained. See §3.126 for late forms such as *fōtas* 'feet', *burha* 'cities';

gen.pl.: the inflexion here is the regular development of **-ōõ* with reduction of trimoricity to bimoricity, followed by shortening and lowering of nasalized **-ō* > *-a* (Hogg 1992b: §3.32).[4] The vowel apparently was still long at the time *Beowulf* was composed, as it contrasts with short *-u*, **-i* under the dictates of Kaluza's Law, see Kaluza (1896: 120–31) and Fulk (1992: §§170–83), with references.

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[1] In both sg. and pl. there is merger with the nom., as elsewhere. However, it is also possible that in the sg. syncretism is achieved by the reverse process, namely the merger of the nom. with the acc., see the discussion of the nom.acc.sg.fem. below.

[2] It should be noted that in Gothic the fem. root-stems adopt the acc.gen.dat.sg. inflexions of the *i*-stems.

[3] The evidence for an unumlauted gen.sg. rests on AntGl 2.860 *hnutehula* ‘nut oil’.

[4] Instances with gen.pl. -*ena* are a later, more general phenomenon, see §3.127.

2.114 There are few significant forms in early texts, but note CollGl 3.2 *fēurstod* ‘buttress’, with which compare the somewhat later ClGl 1.4892 *durustod* ‘door-post’, both with apocopated -*u*. The dat.pl. form Ch 1510.21 *bōēcum* is more probably a confused spelling than an inverted spelling for **bēcum* with extension of *i*-umlaut.

3

Nouns: Declensions

I Introduction

3.1 As indicated in chapter 1 and in §2.1, the morphological structure of OE nouns changed considerably during the period, so that their status may be defined by the set of inflexions which are attached to their stems, rather than by the stem type. In this chapter, therefore, a noun will be assigned to a particular declension by virtue of the inflexions which it takes, and the variety of declensions will correspond to the variety of distinct sets of inflexional endings. The question of how many discrete declensions existed in OE is necessarily a theoretical one, and more than one plausible answer is possible. It cannot be determined precisely how native speakers of Old English might have mentally categorized the declensional morphology of nouns in their language, and indeed it is likely that the categories varied by dialect and date within the period. An attempt at a declensional schema, however, no matter how tentative, and even if by its nature incapable of expressing the taxonomic diversity that must have prevailed from century to century and dialect to dialect, demands to be made, since the taxonomy laid out in chapter 2 on largely diachronic principles plainly cannot have served as the basis for the categorization of declensions in the Old English period itself. For example, although *word* 'word' may be classified as an *a*-stem neuter and *cynn* 'race' as a *ja*-stem neuter on the basis of derivation, they were inflected alike, and it seems most unlikely that in any dialect or period from which records survive an Anglo-Saxon should have regarded them as belonging to different declensional classes. Accordingly, although a single schematization cannot plausibly be made to suffice, it may nonetheless furnish insights into the kinds of general taxonomic principles that must have obtained in the period.

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3.2 Three major declensions may be discerned in the synchronic morphology of OE nouns, as follows, where the names are taken from the predominant shape of the nom.acc.pl. inflexion in that declension:[1]

(1) the *as*-declension, of which typical examples are masc. *stān* 'stone' and neut. *sċip* 'ship', *word* 'word';
(2) the *a*-declension, of which typical examples are *ġifu* 'gift', *lār* 'learning';
(3) the *an*-declension, of which typical examples are masc. *guma* 'man', neut. *ēaġe* 'eye' and fem. *tunge* 'tongue'.

The first two of these declensions correlate closely with gender, for the *as*-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns,[2] whilst the *a*-declension consists only of feminine nouns.

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[1] On the rationale behind this taxonomy, see Hogg (1997b).

[2] It is somewhat clumsy to refer to such neut. nouns as *as*-declension nouns, since they form their nom.acc.pl. with -*u*, -*a* or -Ø. But since the neuters are otherwise identical to their masc. counterparts, the equation, however imprecise, seems inevitable, see further §3.5.

3.3 There remain some OE nouns which take other sets of inflexions and therefore can be logically assigned to further declensions. The numbers involved are generally small, see for further discussion §3.4. It is most appropriate to group them together under the category of minor declensions, with the following subtypes:[1]

(1) *a*-plurals, which consist principally of original *u*-stems and of which the chief examples are *hand* 'hand', *sunu* 'son';
(2) mutation plurals, of which typical examples are *fōt* 'foot', *hnutu* 'nut';
(3) a number of small groups of nouns, these groups sometimes being semantically definable. Thus we find: *e*-plurals, which consist of those older *i*-stems which refer to nationalities, for example *Engle* 'English', cf. §2.70; kinship terms, for example *mōdor* 'mother',[2] which historically derive from *r*-stems; and Ø-plurals which originate in historical disyllabic *nd*-stems, for example *hettend* 'enemy'. This last group may well be both morphologically and semantically definable, since the *nd*-stems are masc. agentive nouns formed from present participles, see §§2.104–6.

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[1] To these some writers would add a fifth group of the type *ċild* ~ *ċildru* 'child' ~ 'children', all of which are neuter, but these are regarded here as a subtype of the *as*-declension, see §3.53.

[2] But not *fæder* 'father', which has been transferred to the *as*-declension, see §3.68n3.

3.4 The primary criteria for the division into major and minor declensional types are the closely related criteria of open : closed and large : small. That is to say: firstly, the major declensions each constitute an open set to which new items of vocabulary may be freely added, if appropriate, whilst the minor declensions each constitute a closed set, to which new items of vocabulary may not usually be added;[1] secondly, each major declension, as would be expected of an open set, has a large membership, whilst the membership of minor declensions is measurably low.

[1] The possibility of some exceptions, that is to say, of the migration of a few nouns to a closed declension, has to be recognized. For example, Campbell (1977: §628.6) suggests that some place-names of Celtic origin have been assimilated to the declension of root-stems with gen.sg. in *-e*. It should be noted that Campbell's account is perhaps unlikely, see §3.127n3 for discussion. But the point, of course, remains that the minor declensions are plainly not very productive, if they are at all productive, and if any new members have been added to them over time, the additions are very few and plainly exceptional.

3.5 The outline of synchronic declensions for OE given above is closest, perhaps, to that of Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §§25–49), with which it may usefully be compared. The major contrasts at this general level are (i) Quirk and Wrenn analyse the masc. and neut. nouns of the *as*-declension as belonging to separate declensions, although they do make it clear that these nouns are distinguished only in the nom.acc.pl., whilst here they are treated as belonging to the same declension, with the different inflexions of the nom.acc.pl. being determined by whether the stems of these nouns have the property MASCULINE or NEUTER; (ii) they do not take the *e*-plurals above as a separate minor declension; (iii) they classify the minor declensions as 'irregular'.[1] Of other synchronic descriptions in a broadly philological framework,[2] Mitchell and Robinson (2006: §§22–62) speak of four major declensional types: weak, strong masc. and neut., strong fem., and *u*-declension.[3] Pilch (1970: 103–9) has a very different and innovative arrangement, in which there is a principal contrast only between weak and strong declensions, with gender marking particular variations in inflexion, e.g. masc. neut. *-es* vs. fem. *-e* for gen.sg. of strong nouns. Additionally he posits a major declensional split between strong nouns with nom.acc.sg. *-e* and those with -Ø. There then follow about five minor declensions, mostly of the usual type but including a *w*-declension equivalent to the historical *wa*-stems, see §§2.27ff.

[1] But they use the term 'irregular' to mean only what was said above about these types, namely that the minor declensions are closed sets and non-productive, and not in the sense that they show non-predictable variation.

[2] Most such descriptions are in introductory textbooks, and therefore somewhat abbreviated. But their interest lies in their theoretical frameworks.

[3] But Mitchell and Robinson generally represent morphophonemic alternations as resulting directly from sound change, rather than as part of some synchronic structure. This is most obvious, perhaps, in their treatment of mutation plurals (2006: §§58–60).

3.6 Amongst generative treatments of OE morphology, by far the fullest treatment is that of K. Wagner (1969). Wagner proposes the following classes: strong, *u*-class, weak, and athematic. Distinctions amongst different types of strong-class nouns are handled either by gender-dependent rules, as with, for example, *stānas* 'stones' vs. *sċipu* 'ships', or by sub-classes with particular extensions of the stem, notably /j/ and /w/. Close study of Wagner's work remains highly profitable, despite some theoretical advances since its publication. The analysis of Erdmann (1974), though generative in orientation, shares much with historical, philological approaches, since it begins with rather abstract underlying forms that resemble those reconstructed for WGmc, to which synchronic phonological rules that mostly resemble historical developments like breaking and loss of intervocalic [h] are applied.[1] Thus, the stem classes identified generally correspond to the familiar ones of diachronic approaches. Much other generative work of a later date is not primarily concerned with the status of paradigms, but there are important and stimulating discussions of noun morphology in Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976), Dresher (1978) and, more briefly, Keyser and O'Neil (1985).[2]

[1] Similar is the approach of Stark (1982: ch. 2) for verbs, though he turns a critical eye upon the adequacy of such a generative approach.

[2] Other generative treatments are primarily of curiosity value and add little to our knowledge, for example Dürmüller and Utz (1977) and Peinovich (1979), both of which tend to take as their basis for discussion the historical stem classes.

II *as*-declension

3.7 This is the largest and most important of all the OE declensions. The principal sources of its membership are the following historical stem (sub-)classes: *a*-stems (including *ja*- and *wa*-stems) and masc. *i*-stems (except names of nationalities).[1] Nouns of this declension could be either masc., in which event the nom.acc.pl. was *-as*, or neut., in which event that inflexion was either *-u* or -Ø.[2] In this declension, and regardless of gender, nom. and acc. inflexions are never distinguished either in the sg. or the pl. Nevertheless, for reasons of clarity they are indicated separately in the paradigms which follow.[3] The falling together of these inflexions was a characteristic found in the earliest period, see further §2.14.

[1] For examples of membership of this and all other major declensions, see the listings of nouns according to stem class in the relevant sections of ch. 2.

[2] For the most part it is the light-stemmed neuters that have *-u*, whilst heavy-stemmed neuters have -Ø, cf. §§2.11, 2.15. But the merger of a variety of stem classes into the *as*-declension means that this is not always so, as with, for example, originally heavy *ja*-stems such as *wītu* 'punishments'. See further the discussion in §3.34. Note also that *-u* varies with *-o* and *-a*, both according to date and dialect, see §3.9.

[3] However, references in the text to nom.sg. or nom.pl. always refer equally and without distinction to acc.sg., acc.pl., respectively, unless there is a specific indication to the contrary.

1 *Inflexions*

3.8 In LWS the set of inflexions which was attached to the stems of *as*-declension nouns was as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	-Ø	-as (masc.); -u,-a/-Ø (neut.)
Acc.	-Ø	-as (masc.); -u,-a/-Ø (neut.)
Gen.	-es	-a
Dat.	-e	-um

3.9 The above set of inflexions, which in LWS is generally stable within the above limits, is inherited from the inflexions of the simple *a*-stems (§§2.11ff.). The most significant late change in inflexion[1] concerns the dat.pl., where forms of the type *-an*, *-on* began to appear very sporadically even in EWS, e.g. CP(H) 163.17 *ramman* 'rams', Or 13.6 *beorgan* 'hills'. But Ælfric shows no significant increase in such forms, and *-um* remains regular alongside very occasional examples like ÆCHom II 26 370.2 *heofenan* (cf. 368.34 *heofenum*). Although the origin of this inflexion may be in part phonological, it seems more likely that the major cause is the spread of the *an*-declension inflexion *-an* to the dat.pl. of *n*-stem nouns and thence its spread to the dat.pl. of all other nouns, see Hogg (1992b: §7.102), also §3.107 below. This change of inflexion is common to all nominal declensions when it occurs, but the general spread of the change seems to be post-Ælfrician.[2] LWS texts also show occasional examples of gen.pl. *-ana* (*-ena*), esp. in glosses on Aldhelm, e.g. AldV1.4657 *baþana* 'of baths', the most frequent examples being of *dagana* (rarely *dagena*) 'of days', a situation repeated in Nbr, see §3.10.[3] For light-stemmed neut. nouns,[4] the shape of the nom.pl. is particularly important. In EWS the inflexion was usually *-u*,[5] but by the time of Ælfric it is subject to variation between *-u* and *-a*, so that, for example, nom.pl. *sċipu*, *sċipa* 'ships', *wītu*, *wīta* 'punishments' can all be found,[6] and some late texts have *-o*, presumably as the phonological development of *-u*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.55). The substitution of *-a* appears to be morphological rather than phonological, see Hogg (1997a: 120; 2000: 366) and is probably motivated by the obscuration of apocope as a phonological process in LWS, see §3.72, Fulk (2010c).

[1] Late texts show a number of variations which testify principally to the merger of unstressed vowels rather than any change of inflexion, for example gen.sg. -*ys* of the type in PsCa(C) 7.24 *bæcys* 'back's' and the rarer variant -*is*, also rare -*as*, cf. the discussion of texts from other dialects in §§3.10–11, and similarly -*es* for nom.pl. -*as*. For references, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlii n1).

[2] By the time of texts such as the Salisbury Psalter, however, -*an* or predictable variants of that inflexion have become common, as they also are in late charters. It may be, of course, that Ælfrician texts are, in this respect as in others, graphically conservative in their representation of forms.

[3] Note that *dagana* at El 193 is required by the poetic metre, which would be spoilt by *daga*.

[4] Or their equivalents, see §3.7n2.

[5] The inflexional forms -*o*, -*a*, which are frequent in more northerly dialects and also very common in LWS texts, for which see below, are relatively infrequent in EWS, though note that Or has *sċipa* 'ships' 10×, see Cosijn (1886: §3), Bately (1980: xlv), also the possibly ambiguous Or 29.18 *seara* 'devices'. Nom.acc.pl. *hēafda* occurs also in EWS (3×).

[6] Pope (1967–8: 183) notes that -*a* as nom.pl. is identical to the inflexion of fem. nouns of the *a*-declension (the historical *ō*-stems).

3.10 In lNbr there are occasional examples of gen.sg. -*as*, presumably due to the coalescence of unstressed vowels, as in LWS, despite Ross (1937: 54), and there are in addition occasional examples of gen.pl. -*ana*. More particularly characteristic of the Nbr inflexions, however, is the quite common use in Li and DurRitGl, but not Ru2, of -*o* for the nom.pl. alongside -*as*, e.g. frequent *hlāfo* 'loaves'. This is most probably due to the influence of the *an*-declension, although it should be noted that the corresponding neut. form is also -*o*, see below. Even more significant, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence in Li of a zero-inflected dat.sg., e.g. MtGl(Li) 14.8 *disċ* 'dish', MkGl(Li) 6.4 *ōēðel* 'country', alongside expected forms of the type in MtGl(Li) 4.6 *stāne*. This alternation is an early indicator of the loss of the dat.sg. evidenced in early ME texts.[1,2] In the nom.pl. the inflexion -*o* heavily predominates over -*a*, although it is remarkable that in heavy stems the ratio of -*o* : -*a* : -Ø is approximately 2 : 1 : 1 (Ross, 1937: 55).[3] The variation between -*o* and -*a* is most probably due to late merger of unstressed vowels, but for the failure of apocope in heavy stems, see §§3.50–1.[4] The inflexions of DurRitGl are similar to those of Li, whilst Ru2 shows variation between -*u* and -*o*. Thus, the principal Nbr inflexions are:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	-Ø	-as, -o (masc.); -o, -a/-Ø (neut.)
Acc.	-Ø	-as, -o (masc.); -o, -a/-Ø (neut.)
Gen.	-es	-a
Dat.	-e, -Ø	-um

[1] The Ø-inflexion is not found in DurRitGl, but note MkGl(Ru) 13.28 *aldor* ‘prince’, *fiċbēom* ‘fig tree’ beside *fiċbēome* (4×).

[2] Other variant forms with *-i*, *-æ* are simply due to variation of unstressed vowels, and the occasional *-o* is surely a Latinism, *pace* Ross (1937: 54–5).

[3] In light stems there is just one example in Li of a -Ø inflexion, namely JnGl 14.15 *bebod* ‘commands’.

[4] Thus Brunner (1965: §237A5), which seems more plausible than the suggestion by Ross (1937: 55) that *-a* is a borrowing from the *an*-declension, cf. the situation in LWS where such borrowing would have given *-an*.

3.11 The evidence presented by lMerc shows many of the same variations of unstressed vowels as elsewhere and similarly occasional gen.pl. *-ana*. Additionally, there are very occasional examples of nom.pl. in *-a*, equivalent to lNbr *-o*, of which the plainest is MtGl(Ru) 13.39 *riftra* ‘reapers’, and scattered examples of -Ø dat.sg. The nom.pl. of light-stemmed neuters is similar to that of the SNbr Ru2, i.e. *-u* or *-o*. The later Kt texts do not have forms which differ significantly from LWS ones, and perhaps the most noteworthy unusual form is OccGl 49 11.26 *māgos* ‘kinsmen’.

2 *Allomorphic variation*

3.12 The usual inflexion of the *as*-declension is exemplified by a masc. noun like *stān* ‘stone’, in which the inflexions of §3.8 are added directly to the stem without variation in either stem or inflexion, hence LWS:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	stān	stānas
Acc.	stān	stānas
Gen.	stānes	stāna
Dat.	stāne	stānum

The same situation holds for the other dialects, with appropriate adjustments in inflexional shape. The only distinction between masc. and neut. nouns is that the latter have either *-u* or -Ø according to a rule of *u*-apocope which is discussed in §§3.50–1, hence *sċipu* ‘ships’, *word* ‘words’.

3.13 There are, however, a great number of allomorphic variations which can occur under a variety of conditions. For convenience and ease of exposition, these variations may be, with one exception, see below, categorized into four groups, although no theoretical significance should be attached to these divisions:

(i) variations which are the result of earlier sound changes, and in particular the following: restoration of *ā̆*; palatalization; back umlaut; loss of [h]; final devoicing; see §§3.14–31;

(ii) variations which, although often in part reflecting earlier sound changes, are the result of particular syllabic configurations: nouns with final *-e* in the nom.sg.; nouns with a stem-final geminate; nouns with final *-u* or *-w* in the nom.sg.; nouns with *u*-apocope; see §§3.32–51;
(iii) nouns which show *-r-* in some or all of their plural and which may be considered double plurals, see §§3.52–5.
(iv) variations in nouns which have, or apparently have, see §3.56–72, a stem which is historically disyllabic; such nouns show particular problems in respect of syncope and apocope.

(a) Restoration of ă̆

3.14 In WS a group of nouns which have stem-vowel /æ/ in the nom.sg. retain /æ/ throughout the sg. but have /ɑ/ in the pl., where the inflexion contains a back vowel. This alternation is usually regarded as directly reflecting the historical change of restoration of *a*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.10–15); see, however, §3.15n3 below. Thus we find a paradigm of the following type (with neut. variants in brackets):

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	bæþ *bath*	baþas (fatu *vessels*)
Acc.	bæþ	baþas (fatu)
Gen.	bæþes	baþa
Dat.	bæþe	baþum

Other nouns which decline in the same way include: *dæġ* 'day', *hwæl* 'whale', *pæþ* 'path', *stæf* 'staff' (all masc.); *bæc* 'back', *bæþ* 'bath', *blæd* 'leaf', *cræt* 'cart', *dæl* 'dale', *fæc* 'interval', *fæt* 'vessel', *fnæd*, *fnæs* 'fringe', *hæf* 'sea', *sæl* 'hall',[1] *sċræf* 'cave', *stæþ* 'shore', *swæþ* 'track', *træf* 'tent', *wæd* 'water', *wæl* 'the slain' (all neut.).

[1] Cf. *sele*, historically an *i*-stem, and *salor*, an *s*-stem.

3.15 Since the phonologically induced alternation matches directly the morphological alternation SINGULAR ~ PLURAL, it should be expected that the alternation might remain relatively stable, and that is generally the case. In EWS, where the pattern is already well established, there are few deviations, but note Or *staðe* (3×) 'shore' dat.sg., 14.31 *-hwælum* dat.pl.[1] In LWS there are equally some scattered examples of extension of either <a> to the sg., i.e., *daġes*, *daġe* gen.dat.sg. or, less often, of <æ> to the pl., i.e. *dægas*, *dæga*, *dægum*.[2,3] The great majority of such forms, however, are to be found in very late texts, particularly charters, and they may simply be indicative of the late merger of /æ/ and /ɑ/ and consequent confusion of the two graphemes, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.215–16). On the other hand, the general stability and saliency of this alternation may result in the restructuring of other nouns to follow this pattern of alternation. This seems to be the case with WS *stæpe* 'step', a former *i*-stem, where the expected sg. is *stepe* against nom.pl. *stapas*, see §2.57&n3. See also §4.22–4 for a discussion of the possibly plainer situation with regard to the alternation of <a> and <æ> in adjectives.

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[1] But two of these examples are from the Cotton ms., which is LWS, as is Or 15.16 *hwales* (immediately beside *hwæles*). Yet it is probable that the forms have been copied directly from the EWS exemplar: note that L has *horschwælum*, C *horshwælum*.

[2] Examples in Ælfric, e.g. ÆCHomII 1.1 113.96 *crætu* 'chariots', are rare.

[3] An alternative view is expressed in Hogg (1996: 70), namely that a form such as *hwales* shows the expected phonological development and that *hwæles* is analogical. This view is dependent on the validity of an argument that spelling variation between <a> and <æ> may reflect a phonetic lengthening in open syllables.

3.16 The same principles (and types of variation) appear to apply in the other dialects also,[1] but the forms in those dialects which have second fronting (e.g. PsGl(A), Ru1, see Hogg 1992b: §§5.87–92) are significantly different. There the root vowel in the sg. should be *e* and in the pl. either *æ* or *ea*, and hence we find patterns such as *deġ* ~ *dægas*, *fet* ~ *featu*. The choice here between *æ* and *ea* is dependent upon the failure of back umlaut before velar consonants in Angl, see ibid.: §§5.102–3.

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[1] In Kt we find an alternation between /e/ and /ɑ/, e.g. *deġ* ~ *dagas*, as a result of Kentish raising, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.189–91).

3.17 Theoretically, exactly the same principles should apply to instances in which the stem vowel is /æː/, hence *mǣġ* ~ *māgas* 'kinsman'. It is noticeable, however, that whilst forms of the type *mǣgas* are quite frequent in EWS, they are absent from LWS texts. This may be a purely phonological problem regarding the differential implementation of the historical sound change in EWS and LWS rather than an indication of extension of /æː/ throughout the paradigm in EWS but not in LWS. In other dialects, where the stem vowel is /eː/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.25), the issue does not arise.

(b) Palatalization

3.18 The changes induced by historical palatalization (see Hogg 1992b: §§7.15ff.) are of two types: firstly, there can arise a contrast according to inflexion between a palatalized consonant in forms like nom.sg. *dīċ* 'ditch' against nom.pl. *dīcas*; secondly, where there is variation between a front and a back stem vowel for other reasons, this will then correlate with a variation between a palatalized and an unpalatalized initial consonant, hence (neut.) *ġeat* 'gate' nom.sg. vs. *gatu* nom.pl.

3.19 The first type of variation, although presumably widespread, is not directly recoverable from the textual evidence. It would lead to alternations of the type in *dæġ* ~ *dagas* and *dīċ* ~ *dīcas*, with differences between the two types in that where the palatalized consonant was originally a stop, palatalization would take place only in the nom.sg., see Hogg (1992b: §7.16). The alternation in *dæġ* and the like is deducible, however, from the fact that *dæi* and *dai* appear for *dæġ* in late texts, but never ***daias*, ***daium*. The alternations in both words, of course, are to be deduced on the basis of evidence from later stages of the language.

3.20 The second type of variation, on the other hand, is often recoverable from the textual evidence, although the recovery is usually ambiguous. Thus, whilst nom.sg. *ġeat* plainly demonstrates palatal diphthongization of the stem vowel /æ/ which must be a consequence of the palatalization of the initial consonant, and nom.pl. *gatu* would appear to suggest an initial velar, it is unclear whether the less frequent *ġeatu*, etc. (not in Ælfric, although occasionally in both EWS and late texts) has extension of /æ/ from the sg., see §3.15 and the discussion of restoration of *ă̄* therein, with consequent palatal diphthongization, or has extension of the palatal consonant from the sg. with diacritical <e>, see Hogg (1992b: §5.50n1). That such forms, although infrequent, are slightly more common than the usual extension of /æ/ may tip the balance in favour of the latter explanation.

(c) Back umlaut

3.21 Back umlaut is an historical change whereby short front vowels diphthongized if a back vowel appeared in the following syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.103ff.). This change was subject to considerable dialectal variation, but a broad generalization is that in WS, back umlaut of */i/ was quite common, but more frequent with *u*-umlaut than *a*-umlaut, and that only *u*-umlaut (rather than *a*-umlaut) of */e/ was at all common, whilst in Angl both *u*-umlaut and *a*-umlaut were common, especially in later texts, see for full details of the complex variations Hogg (1992b: §§5.103ff.). These inherent variations make the discussion of the morphological context of back umlaut particularly difficult, and they inhibit to some extent the postulation of broad generalizations as to its status.

3.22 In WS one would expect that where the stem vowel was /i/, *u*-umlaut would occur in the dat.pl. and the nom.pl. of neuters, and *a*-umlaut elsewhere in the pl., but if the stem vowel were /e/ then only *u*-umlaut would occur in the nom.pl. of neuters and the dat.pl. of all nouns. There is, of course, a further restriction in WS that there must be just one intervening consonant, which is usually a liquid or a labial, see Hogg (1992b: §5.104(1)). The consequence of these restrictions is that for masc. nouns, examples with /i/ are practically wanting, and we can consider only examples with stem vowel /e/, of which *wer* 'man' is the most frequent and useful example. But forms like *werum* dat.pl. are virtually exceptionless,[1] and it is reasonable to suppose that in WS back umlaut is always levelled away in masc. nouns in which it produced paradigm allomorphy. For neut. nouns, on the other hand, there are frequent examples with original stem vowel /i/, and we should expect nom.pl. forms of the type *cliofu* 'cliffs', *sċiopu* 'ships',[2] *ġebeodu* 'prayers', in addition to dat.pl. forms with back umlaut. However, back umlaut is regularly levelled away even in these nouns, and the only neuter noun which shows back umlaut with any frequency in the pl. in WS is *liomu*, *leomu*, etc. 'limbs' (found in both CP and ÆCHom). We may suppose, therefore, that in general, any rule of back umlaut has been lost from the phonology of the *as*-declension nouns in WS.

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[1] Bede 5 10.412.28 has *weoras* acc.pl., but this is scarcely significant, in view of the Merc origins of the text.

[2] Or, with merger of *io* and *eo*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.155ff.), *cleofu*, *sċeopu*.

3.23 In Angl dialects, both *u*- and *a*-umlaut occur regularly. In Nbr, consequently, we should expect all forms of the pl. to show back umlaut of the stem vowels /i, e/. However, in NNbr back umlaut is frequently levelled away in masc. nouns, hence usual Li *weras*, etc.,[1] against *weara* gen.pl. (2× in Li). In neuters, however, back umlaut is usual in the pl., e.g. *ġe*-, *ġibeodo* 'prayers' (Li 2×, DurRitGl 2×), *liomana* 'limbs' gen.pl. (Li 4×, DurRitGl 2×), *sċiop(p)o* 'ships' nom.pl. (Li 5×) against *sċipo* (1×). The proper description of this distinction between masc. and neut. nouns, which doubtless results from the different inflexions of the nom.pl., is of some theoretical interest, since we might suppose that back umlaut has been lost from the synchronic phonology of the masc. nouns but retained for neut. nouns. There appear to be some traces of a dialectal distinction between NNbr and SNbr, for in Ru2 we find *weoras*, *sċiopu*, etc., throughout the plural, with both *u*- and *a*-umlaut.[2] It is perhaps noteworthy that the situation in Ru2 is quite close to that of Merc, and certainly closer to that than it is to the NNbr position.[3] In the WMerc dialect represented by PsGl(A), back umlaut is regular, and hence alternations of the types *wer* ~ *weoras*, *sċip* ~ *sċeopu* are normal.[4] On the other hand, Ru1 shows both *weoras* and *weras*, although neuters appear to show only umlauted forms, e.g. *ġebeodum*, in the pl. The evidence of Kt is too scant to allow clear conclusions to be drawn. There appears to be variation, but note examples such as Ch 1510 *ġewriota* 'writings' gen.pl., OccGl 49.21 *weogas* 'ways', contrasting with OccGl 49.415 *ġewita* 'witnesses', 994 *cwidas* 'sayings'.

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[1] On variation of the stem vowel as in *wæras*, etc., see Hogg (1992b: §5.179).

[2] On variation of the diphthong, e.g. Ru2 *wearas*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.44n1).

[3] On the comparison between NNbr and SNbr, see Lindelöf (1901: §88).

[4] *Weagas* (3×), *weogum* (1×) may be Kenticisms, see Hogg (1992b: §5.105n6) and Ball (1970: 465).

3.24 Overall, the dialect picture is one of the general loss of any synchronic rule of back umlaut in WS, against its retention in the allomorphy of Merc, whilst Nbr occupies a medial and theoretically somewhat complex position. In the context of this dialect variation it is probably important to note that most generative analyses of back mutation in this declension restrict themselves to a single dialect, as, for example, in Dresher (1978), which deals only with WMerc.

(d) Loss of [h]

3.25 The historical source of the variations discussed below is the loss of [h] between voiced segments, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.45–51). Loss of [h] (earlier [x]) could occur in two types of words: (i) those with [h] occurring after a vowel; (ii) those with [h] occurring after a liquid consonant. In both types, [x] would be retained word-finally in the nom.sg., but it would be lenited to [h] and lost between voiced segments in inflected forms. The loss of [h] would lead to further changes in both types, and the resultant paradigms in LWS are of the following types (see below for further discussion):[1]

Singular		
Nom.	sċōh *shoe*	mē̆arh *horse*
Acc.	sċōh	mē̆arh
Gen.	sċōs	mē̆ares
Dat.	sċō	mē̆are
Plural		
Nom.	sċōs	mē̆aras
Acc.	sċōs	mē̆aras
Gen.	sċōna[2]	mē̆ara
Dat.	sċōm	mē̆arum

Other nouns which decline like *sċōh* include: masc.: *eoh* 'horse', *flēah* 'flea',[3] *hōh* 'heel', *lēah* 'open land' (see §3.36); neut.: *feoh* 'money', *flēah* 'albugo' (cf. *flēa*, etc., of the *an*-declension, see n2), *pleoh* 'danger', *slōh* 'mire' (rarely masc., fem.), *þēoh* 'thigh'. In *eoh* and other nouns with a short diphthong in the nom.sg., compensatory lengthening perhaps takes place when [h] is lost, so that we find nom.pl. *ēos*, etc.[4] Other nouns which decline like *mearh* include: masc.: *ealh* 'temple', *fearh* 'pig', *healh* 'nook', *horh* 'rheum' (also neut.), *sealh* 'willow', *seolh* 'seal', *wealh* 'foreigner'; neut.: *feorh* 'life', *holh* 'hollow'. On compensatory lengthening in this type, see §3.28 and references therein.

[1] See §§3.26, 3.28n2 on the nom.pl. of neut. nouns of this type.

[2] Found at GDPref and 3 20.221.22 and also RegCGl 2.272.

[3] Of uncertain gender. The form co-exists with *flēa*, of the *an*-declension. It is probable that the latter is the result of restructuring, which eliminates the allomorphic variation and aligns the noun with a regular type.

[4] See Hogg (1992b: §§5.124ff.). However, whether the long vowel in a form such as *ēos* is due to compensatory lengthening rather than vowel contraction is debatable, see §3.26n1. Compensatory lengthening serves the purpose of preserving a heavy root syllable throughout the paradigm of a word such as *mearh*, but it is unmotivated by any such consideration in a form such as **eo-as* < **eohas*, since the initial syllable is etymologically light. Moreoever, non-contraction in poetic metre demands the assumption of a light first syllable in decontracted *ēos* and the like, see Fulk (1992: §101), and cf. Dietz (1970).

3.26 As regards the type exemplified by *sċōh*, most WS forms can be accounted for by assuming that loss of [h] is followed by vowel contraction, as a result of which an original short vowel or diphthong was lengthened.[1,2] This will account for all the forms of *sċōh* in §3.25 except gen.pl. *sċōna*, where the expected form would be of the type **scō*. Such forms do not occur,[3] and a new gen.pl. from the *an*-declension has been created, presumably to avoid Ø-inflexion in this case. For the neuters, plural forms are generally rare, but note *þēoh* 'thighs' against *þēona* gen.pl., *þēon* dat.pl. Since it would be expected that loss of intervocalic /h/ would occur earlier than apocope, see Hogg (1992b: §7.51),[4] *þēoh* must represent a reintroduction of /h/ to make the nom.sg. and pl. identical, as is usually the case in heavy-stemmed neuters of this declension, see also §3.28n2. Finally, the stem variations seen in this paradigm can sometimes interact with the variations induced by final devoicing, see the discussion in §3.31.

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[1] This formulation differs somewhat from the account given in Hogg (1992b: §§5.132–4), whereby the loss of [h] itself causes lengthening, and the unstressed vowel is then lost in hiatus. This view depends upon the assumption that [h] could have belonged to the first syllable in a form like **feohes*, see ibid.: §2.81, because if it belonged to the second syllable, its loss should have gone uncompensated. (To the idea that *h* might actually have been ambisyllabic under such circumstances, cf. McCully, 1992: 119–21, Fulk, 1997.) Cf. §3.25n4. Putting *h* into the first syllable of **feohes* also undercuts the rationale for its loss, since the complementary distribution of [h] and [x] is such that the former occurs in syllable onsets only, the latter in codas, see Opalińska (2004: 236). Describing the environments in which [h] appears would otherwise require a certain degree of complexity, see e.g. J.M. Anderson (2001: 206). Moreover, contracted forms in verse with an original short root vowel or diphthong, when metrically decontracted, never demand scansion with a lengthened vowel; see Fulk (1992: §101) on the implications of this.

[2] Cf. a similar generative explanation in Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976: 534–7), who also argue convincingly against a very different analysis in Keyser (1975); see also K.H. Wagner (1969: 250); but see §3.25n4.

[3] PPs 48.5 *hōa* 'of heels', although WS, is an Angl type (PPs appears originally to have been composed in an Angl dialect), see further §3.27.

[4] The evidence, however, is debatable, as there are reasons to believe that the lenition of /x/ was contemporary with Anglian smoothing, which in turn appears to have followed the apocope of high vowels, see Fulk (1992: §§398, 402).

3.27 In Angl the situation is somewhat different, for there, especially in Nbr, the hiatus may be unresolved, since in more northerly dialects inflexional juncture appears to inhibit such resolution, see Hogg (1992b: §5.147). Hence in Li all forms show retention of the inflexional vowel, e.g. LkGl(Li) 15.22 *sċōeas*,[1] and similarly MkGl(Ru) 1.7 *ġesċōas*. In lMerc similar forms are found, e.g. Ru1 *sċōas* (2×).[2] Theoretically, this is of some interest. Within the framework of lexical phonology, or any related theory which does not accept the existence of boundary segments,[3] the status of hiatus resolution becomes difficult. In LWS, hiatus resolution can be viewed as post-cyclical (applying in all environments), but in Angl the failure of resolution before an inflexion implies that the rule is cyclical. Whilst the exact status of hiatus resolution as a lexical rule remains unclear, it is nevertheless clear that forms like *sċōas* are not merely analogical re-formations.

[1] With <oe> for <eo>. Variant forms such as acc.pl. *sċōea* suggest an alternative neut. paradigm, see §3.10.

[2] Note that Li has strong forms of the gen.pl., namely MkGl 1.7 *sċōe*, LkGl 3.16 *sċōea*.

[3] A very full, advanced treatment is S. Anderson (1992), whilst Kenstowicz (1994: esp. ch.5) provides an excellent introduction. Kenstowicz (1994: 233–4) also deals with a problem in PDE not unrelated to the present OE problem.

3.28 For the type exemplified by *mearh* there are no significant variations from the paradigm presented in §3.25.[1,2] The length of the root vowel or diphthong, however, is difficult to ascertain, and it is unclear whether the length is determined morphologically or phonologically; for discussion of the issues involved, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.124, 127). It is plain, however, that both lengthened and unlengthened forms occurred.

[1] Maldon 189 *mear* without final *-h* is an isolated example, which may well be an error for *mearg* (on which see §3.31), see Scragg (1981: 79).

[2] But the neut. nouns retain final *-h* in the nom.pl., e.g. *feorh* 'people', which parallels the re-formation of *þēoh*, see §3.26.

3.29 The morphology of several nouns whose stem ends in *-h* is made more complex by a change in Gmc whereby the sequence */ɣw/, with */ɣ/ usually due to Verner's Law, had simplified to */w/, but could also simplify to */ɣ/, see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(3)) for details. Therefore, alongside *holh* 'hollow', *horh* 'rheum', both nom.sg. and with */x/ without Verner's Law, inflected forms with *-w-* occurred, thus **holwes*,[1] *horwes*, *horwe*. These could then co-occur with forms with *-g-*, e.g. PsCa(F,G) 7.5 *horgum* dat.pl.[2]

But any alternations of the type *h* ~ *w* might be viewed as synchronically suppletive, and hence we find restructuring in the type of paradigm presented by *mearh*,[3] and forms such as Lch II *hores*, *horas*.

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[1] Inferred from ME *holwe* and PDE *hollow*, though these could reflect the stem **holg-*.

[2] Note ApT 14.6 *horhgum* dat.pl.

[3] For occasional spellings of words such as *mearh* with final *-g*, i.e. *mearg*, see §3.31.

(e) Devoicing

3.30 Most alternations induced by the historical changes of voicing and devoicing, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.54–68), result only in low-level allophonic variations of the type exemplified by *wulf* [wulf] ~ *wulfas* [wulvas]. However, the final devoicing of the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ has some morphological consequence, although this is mainly to be seen only in LWS texts; see ibid.: §7.63 for some details of the different expressions of this devoicing in other dialects.

3.31 In LWS, words such as *bēah* 'ring' (< *bēag*, and so for other nouns here), *beorh* 'hill', *plōh* 'plough', which show final devoicing, retain the voiced velar fricative in inflected forms, e.g. *bēagas* nom.pl., *beorge* dat.sg., *plōges* gen.sg. This sub-phonemic alternation could lead to the interpretation of <g> and <h> as freely varying spellings of a single velar fricative phoneme. Hence we also find occasional spellings in which <h> substitutes for [ɣ], e.g. *dahum* for *dagum* 'day' dat.pl., see Hogg (1992b: §7.64). Similarly, occasional examples of <g> for <h>, as in Ch 385 341 *lēage* 'open land', also poetic Wan 92 *mearg* 'horse', are best viewed as graphic substitutions. On the difficulties that attend the interpretation of spellings with <h> for <g> and <g> for <h>, see Fulk (2002).

(f) Nominative singular in -e

3.32 A variety of historical developments contribute to a group of *as*-declension nouns which appear to have an inflexional *-e* in the nom.sg. None of these nouns are originally simple *a*-stem nouns which constitute the core group of *as*-declension nouns. Rather, they come from the following three principal sources: (i) originally heavy-stemmed *ja*-stems such as masc. *ende* 'end', neut. *wīte* 'punishment; (ii) originally light-stemmed *i*-stems such as masc. *wine* 'friend', neut. *spere* 'spear'; (iii) light-stemmed *ja*-stems with originally stem-final *-r*, e.g. *here* army. These types contrast with originally light-stemmed *ja*-stems such as *seċġ* 'man', *cynn* 'race' and originally heavy-stemmed *i*-stems such as *dǣl* 'part', *flǣsċ* 'flesh', which regularly pattern like masc. *stān* or neut. *word*, according to their gender.[1] From a synchronic point of view, however, a rather different three-way division is more plausible: (i) a type represented by *ende*, *wine* and *spere*;[2] (ii) a type represented by *wīte*; and (iii) a type represented by *here*. These three types are discussed in order below.

[1] But see §3.34 for discussion of the nom.pl. of a neut. such as *cynn*.

[2] Also to be included here are a few trisyllabic nouns: *byrele* 'cup bearer', *eowode* 'flock' (of variable gender), *hemeþe* 'shirt' (neut.), *mereċe* 'wild celery', *sīþe* 'scythe', where gemination seems to have been lost in unstressed position, cf. with *hemeþe* Lat *camisia*. *Byrele* can also be a fem. *n*-stem, doubtless due to the nom.sg. *-e*.

3.33 The type of noun represented by *ende*, *wine*, *spere* patterns, according to gender, exactly as other *as*-nouns, except in the nom.acc.sg., where it is characterized by final *-e*. It would be possible to analyse these nouns as having a paradigm separate from that for other *as*-nouns, which would be distinguished from them only by virtue of the nom.sg. inflexion *-e*, but such an analysis is rarely found.[1] It seems more economical to assume that this type consists of disyllabic stems in which *-e* forms the second syllable of the stem.[2,3] Corroboration of this analysis is to be derived from compounds and quasi-compounds, in which words of this type retain final *-e* of the first constituent, e.g. *sperenīð* 'battle', *sperelēas* 'without a spearhead'.

[1] See, however, Mitchell and Robinson (2006: §45) for remarks which appear to support such an analysis; also compare Pilch (1970) and the comments in §3.5 above.

[2] The remainder of the paradigm can then be derived by means of a synchronic rule which deletes unstressed /e/ before a further vowel, e.g. /ende+as/ → /endas/ = *endas*, /spere+u/ → /speru/ = *speru*. This synchronic rule can be seen as related to the historical sound change by which unstressed /e/ is lost before another vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.150ff.). This sound change is then further developed in lOE and eME, see Luick (1914–40: §§451–2), Minkova (1991: 155–6). Broadly speaking, this type of analysis is the kind adopted by most generative phonologists, although the stem-final vowel is often assumed to be underlying /j/ or /i/. This is in order to account for *i*-umlauted vowels in the initial syllable, which seems to us unnecessary anywhere in OE noun morphology, including mutation plurals, see §§3.122–7. Keyser and O'Neil (1985: 50–1) assume *wine* to contain stem-final /e/, in contrast to /i/ elsewhere, which is somewhat odd. K.H. Wagner (1969) and Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976) assign a similar underlying structure to the type represented by *cynn*, but this is rejected by Keyser and O'Neil (1985).

[3] It should be noted that in n2 above and throughout this work we have silently amended the frequent generative use of '/y/' for the palatal approximant /j/ in accord with IPA principles. The persistent use of '/y/' for /j/ is to be deplored and avoided in the study of OE, though it remains standard in connexion with PIE.

3.34 The type of noun represented by *wīte* has one individuating characteristic, namely nom.pl. in *-u*, e.g. *wītu* 'punishments'.[1] Given that apocope of final *-u* normally occurs after a heavy monosyllable, see Hogg (1992b:

§6.20), this type represents a surface violation of apocope.[2] Like the nouns discussed in §3.33, these retain final *-e* when they are the initial constituents of compounds and quasi-compounds, e.g. *wītehūs* 'torture chamber', *wīteleast* 'immunity from punishment'. The paradigm of this type contrasts clearly with original light *ja*-stem neuters like *cynn* 'race', in which the nom.pl. is *cynn* with apocope. The most probable explanation of this form is that these light stems were restructured as *as*-declension nouns with a monosyllabic stem ending in a geminate, and that therefore apocope would operate to delete inflexional *-u* in the nom.pl.[3]

[1] Other examples of this type are given in §2.20.

[2] However, in a generative framework it might be assumed that there existed a synchronic rule of apocope which was ordered before the /e/-deletion rule discussed in §3.33. The synchronic derivation of *wītu* would then be as follows, where the output is the actual OE form: /wiːte+u/ → /wiːte+u/ (apocope fails) → /wiːtu/ (/e/-deletion).

[3] Cf. the remarks in Hogg (1992b: §6.25), pertaining to diachronic developments, which we believe to be irrelevant in the present context of synchronic grammar.

3.35 Forms of all the types of noun discussed in §§3.33–4 are almost entirely regular in all dialects, subject only to the types of inflexional variation discussed in §§3.8–11. The only important exception to this generalization appears to be NNbr (Li, DurRitGl) *rīċ* 'kingdom', which as an historical heavy *ja*-stem should have been expected to pattern exactly like *wīte* (as it does in all other texts and dialects, with insignificant exceptions). But in these two texts the nom.sg. is always *rīċ*. Since there is a pl. form LkGl(Li) 4.5 *rīċu*,[1] it would be difficult to argue that the noun has been totally re-formed as a heavy monosyllable, and the status of the word in NNbr remains obscure.

[1] Alongside MtGl(Li) 4.8 *rīċas*, although this masc.pl. is scarcely relevant to the present discussion, since in Li the noun is otherwise neut.

3.36 The third type of noun to be discussed here is principally represented by *here* 'army'; for other, structurally similar nouns see further §3.37. As described in §§2.19, 2.24b, *here* originally has /j/ before an inflexional vowel, so that we find, for example, *here* ~ *herġas*. But even in EWS, forms with *-ġ-* are in a clear minority, and Or consistently has forms without *-ġ-*, thus giving a paradigm of the type *here* ~ *heras*, which is identical to that of *wine*, see §3.33. In LWS also the type *here* ~ *heras* predominates even more heavily.[1] The development of the new type without /j/ appears to signal a restructuring such that *here* is simply aligned with all other nouns of the same type as *wine*.[2,3] This change in the structure of *here* is directly relevant to the absence of *i*-umlaut in the synchronic phonology of OE nouns, cf. §3.33n2. Where /j/ is retained before an inflexional vowel, in WS an epenthetic vowel may be introduced before the /j/, e.g. *heriġas* 'armies', see for further details Hogg (1992b: §§6.43–4). For similar Nbr spellings but from a different source, see ibid.: §§6.35–6.

[1] Not, however, exclusively, for there continue to be mainly isolated examples of the *herġas* type throughout the period, even in WS.

[2] See further Keyser and O'Neil (1985: 55). On the other hand, the older type with /j/ might, in a generative approach consonant with the analysis of *bearu* offered in §3.42n2, suggest that the underlying form of the stem was /herj/, with /j/ vocalized to /i/ finally after /r/ and subsequently lowered to /e/. This would parallel historical developments in, e.g., the imper.sg. of weak verbs of class I, see §6.82. Cf. §§2.23ff.

[3] However, it is surely anachronistic to suggest, as does Brunner (1965: §246A4), that the restructuring is on the basis of the *i*-stems, since it is most probable that the *i*-stems had all been restructured (as members of the *as*-declension, or perhaps, if very early, of the older *a*-stem class) prior to the development in *here* discussed above.

3.37 There are no other nouns exactly like *here*, but the compound *durhere* 'folding door' and the Lat loan *cāsere* 'emperor' should be noted, together with a large number of examples with the agentive suffix *-ere*, e.g. *bæcere* 'baker', see further §2.20. It is noteworthy that none of these polysyllabic nouns ever shows pre-inflexional /j/,[1] and the early restructuring of these nouns, which may have been connected with lack of stress, quite probably led to the restructuring of *here*.

[1] By comparison, there are no attested compounds in *here-* before a second constituent with a vocalic initial, where, etymologically, *herġ-* might be expected.

3.38 In Nbr the situation is somewhat different, for in all texts forms of *here* indicating the presence of /j/ are regular in the pl., e.g. *herġum* dat.pl., and in the sg. similar forms are more common than occasional forms without such indication, the only exception being constant dat.sg. *here* in Li.[1] For Merc the situation in Ru1 is similar, but PsGl(A) offers no evidence. It is perhaps noteworthy that these northern dialects are in this respect apparently more conservative than WS.

[1] Ru2, on the other hand, always has forms with *-ġ-*, see Lindelöf (1901: 104).

(g) Geminate consonants

3.39 The primary source of stem-final geminate consonants in the *as*-declension is originally light-stemmed *ja*-stems such as *hyll* 'hill' (masc.) and *cynn* 'race' (neut.), see §§2.19–20 and, for other sources, §3.40. Originally, these nouns should have had an ungeminated final consonant in the nom.sg., e.g. **hyle*, and a geminated consonant in the acc.sg., e.g. *hyll*. But the two forms appear to have fallen together by the time of

Pre-OE, with the geminate consonant being generalized throughout the paradigm, see §2.23. But later, by a process of degemination, an historical sound change which appears to have begun to be implemented by the time of EWS, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.80–1), gradually becoming expressed more frequently through the period, final geminate consonants would have been shortened, so that there would be an alternation between a single word-final consonant in the nom.sg., e.g. *hyl*, *cyn*, and a geminate consonant in inflected forms, e.g. *hylles*, *cynnes*.[1] This alternation is not always evidenced in LWS texts, so that, for example, *cyn* is found just once in ÆCHom, at II 144.205, and not at all in ÆLS, although occasionally in other Ælfrician texts, though this is more probably due to orthographic convention than to failure of the change, or levelling away of degemination, cf. ibid.: §7.81.[2] It is noticeable that in Nbr the geminate consonants are regularly retained, although whether this is orthographic, as suggested by Campbell (1977: §66n4), or phonological seems impossible to determine.

[1] Such alternation does not occur in nouns in which the geminate is subject to further change, as in the type exemplified by *seċġ* 'man'. This type patterns exactly as *stān*.

[2] The retention of an orthographic geminate seems to be particularly characteristic of Ælfrician texts, and it may therefore be a further indication of graphic conservatism in these texts. On the particular conservatism of Ælfrician texts, see Hogg (1997b).

3.40 When a noun reflects a form bearing one of the WGmc suffixes **-innja-* (**-unnja-*), **-attja-* (**-ittja-*), then the same alternations as in §3.39 might have been expected. But in these nouns, of which typical examples are *fæsten* 'fast', *fæsten* 'fortress', *wēsten* 'desert', *bærnet* 'arson', *þēowet* 'slavery',[1] see for further examples §2.21, not only is there degemination in the nom.sg., but in WS this process is increasingly extended to inflected cases also, hence gen.sg. *fæstenes*, etc. It is most probable that this extension of degemination throughout the plural is a phonological event, whereby the simplification occurs firstly in unstressed syllables, rather than a morphological levelling, cf. §3.62. The nom.pl. of these mainly neut. nouns is always in *-u*, which would not be expected after a heavy syllable, as in *wēstennu* 'deserts', but would be regular if degemination had occurred, e.g. *wēstenu*, see further §3.62.

[1] The suffix *-ett* interchanges with *-ot*, see Kastovsky (1992: 359–60), which is ungeminated and whose vowel can then be syncopated.

3.41 A particularly unusual development occurs with a small number of original light *i*-stems, in particular *hyse* 'warrior'. Here, alongside constant nom.sg. *hyse* we find inflected forms like nom.pl. *hyssas*.[1] It is difficult to provide a coherent account of this alternation, cf. Hogg (1979: 72–3), and it may simply be that rival paradigms have developed. Other nouns which show similar developments, but particularly the existence of rival paradigms, include *dyne*, *dyn(n)* ‘din’,[2] *ile*, *ill*[3] ‘sole of foot’, *mete*, *mett* ‘food’,[4] *ofdele* ‘slope’.[5]

[1] Mald 123 has *hysas* in a metrically ambiguous position, but this is alongside *hyssas* (2×) in verses in which the geminate is required by the metre.

[2] Both *dyn* and *dynn* occur alongside each other uniquely in MSol. For *ġedyne* see §2.64n1, also for *ġewill* ‘will’.

[3] At CorpGl 400 glossing *callos* alongside *weorras*.

[4] But *mett* is only Nbr, cf. §3.39.

[5] LkGl(Li) 19.37 *æfdæll*, Ru *æfdelle* dat.sg., from which **ofdell* nom.sg. might be supposed.

(h) Nominative singular in -u

3.42 Nouns of this type are historically old *wa*-stems with root-final consonants such as *bearu* ‘grove’ (masc.), *searu* ‘device’ (neut.), see §2.28. The masc. nouns all show an alternation between *-u* in the nom.sg. and *-w-* in all inflected forms, e.g. *bearu* ~ *bearwas*, whilst the neuters all have *-u* in the nom.pl. also, e.g. *searu* ~ *searu*. It seems most probable that this type has been subject to synchronic restructuring, in which the stem is best analysed as containing final *-w*, e.g. *bearw-*.[1,2] Interestingly, these nouns also show in WS the introduction of epenthetic *-u-*, e.g. *beaduwe* ‘battle’ dat.sg. parallel to the type *heriġas* discussed in §3.36.

[1] It would be possible, therefore, although it does not seem to us necessary, to derive the root diphthong by a synchronic rule of breaking, cf. §2.31(1). This is normally the type of analysis favoured by generative studies, e.g. K.H. Wagner (1969: 253), Kiparsky and O’Neil (1976: 548). In other respects the analysis presented here is very similar to such generative analyses, see also Keyser and O’Neil (1985: 51–2).

[2] In a generative approach similar to that offered for *here* ~ *her(i)ġas* in §3.36n2, two synchronic rules might then be assumed to apply to such nouns. The first of these will be apocope of final *-u* after a heavy stem, which will affect the nom.pl. of neuters, e.g. /sæ̆ɑrwu/ → /sæ̆ɑrw/, see further §3.50&n3. (It should be noted that such forms cannot be derived by assuming, rather than apocope, a rule which deletes /w/ before /u/. It would then be impossible to account for constant dat.pl. forms of the type *searwum*, see §2.31(2).) It should be noted that this is a significant shift from the historical situation, where **saru* is the expected nom.pl. form, see §2.31(2). (Compare with this form the older type represented in CorpGl 88 *sarwo* nom.sg. (glossing Lat *adventio*), with *-w-* introduced from the oblique cases but without a diphthong.) The second rule applying to these nouns will vocalize /w/ finally after a consonant, hence /bæ̆ɑrw, sæ̆ɑrw/ → /bæ̆ɑru, sæ̆ɑru/.

(i) Nominative singular in -w

3.43 There is a group of *as*-declension nouns which differ from the type discussed in §3.42 in that although they are old *wa*-stems, their root ends in a vowel or a diphthong, e.g. *snāw* ‘snow’, *þēow* ‘servant’ (masc.), *hrāw* 'body', *cnēow* 'knee' (neut.), see §2.28. In all these nouns final */w/ would have vocalized to /u/ and then either would have been lost after a long vowel or diphthong or would have formed a diphthong with a preceding short vowel, as in *strēa(w)* 'straw' < **strau* < **strawaz*, see §2.31 for details. It is helpful in the discussion of these forms to distinguish between those nouns which have a root monophthong and those which have a root diphthong (from whatever source). The former are discussed in §3.44, the latter in §§3.45–8.

3.44 In monophthongal nouns of this type, the expected paradigm should show a vowel-final nom.sg., e.g. *snā* with *-w* preceding the inflexion elsewhere except perhaps the dat.pl.[1] In fact, except where the root vowel is *-ī-*, see below, the nom.sg. also shows *-w*, i.e. *snāw*, etc. If this *-w* is phonologically genuine, then this would represent a restructuring of this type to eliminate allomorphy, and the noun would pattern exactly as *stān*. On the other hand, if *-w* is purely an orthographic analogy, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.69ff.), then these nouns would pattern very much like the type exemplified by *bearu*, see §3.42.[2] The major exception to the above situation occurs with nouns having the root vowel /iː/, e.g. *Tīw* Tiw, for these nouns have an alternative nom.sg. of the type *Tīġ*, so EpGl, ErfGl 767, CorpGl 1681 *briiġ* ~ *brīw* 'porridge', CorpGl 986 *ġīġ* ~ ClGl2 5 *ġīw* 'vulture', EpGl, ErfGl 1015, CorpGl 2021 *slī* ~ *slīw* 'tench'. This alternation can then affect the parallel *ja*-stem *glīġ* ~ *glīw* 'mirth'.[3] The development of these types is also connected with developments in Gmc, see further Hogg (1992b: §§3.18, 4.9). From the morphological point of view, however, it is plain that all the variations lead to an elimination of allomorphy in the paradigm.

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[1] There appear to be no examples of nom.pl. of neut. nouns of this type. The late form *strēwu* may show late monophthongization, see Hogg (1992b: §5.212&n2).

[2] Exactly how the paradigm would be generated synchronically in that event remains, however, problematic, for in order to derive nom.sg. /snaː/ it is necessary to find some method of deleting the stem-final /w/ occurring elsewhere in the paradigm. Presumably this is best achieved by assuming that apocope applies equally to /w/ as to /u/; for details of apocope and some problems that this might cause, see §§3.50–1.

[3] The alternation EpGl, ErfGl 1005, CorpGl 1972 *īuu* ~ MRune 35 *ēoh* 'yew' is due rather to the combined effects of Verner's Law and the alternative developments of PGmc */ɣw/ in PGmc **īxwaz*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(3)).

3.45 Nouns which had a root-final diphthong in Gmc (i.e. before the suffix *-w-*), e.g. *bēow* 'barley', *dēaw* 'dew', *þēaw* 'custom', see further §2.28, all share the paradigm of *stān*, with *-w* reintroduced to the nom.sg.,[1] although the nom.pl. of neuters (like *bēow*, see §2.28n3) is not evidenced. Other nouns which had developed a root-final diphthong by the phonemicization of the sequence root vowel plus suffix *-w-* should have done so only in the nom.&acc.sg., though final -*w* was often restored in these cases on the basis of analogy to the inflected cases, see Hogg (1992b: §3.19). In the inflected cases, later developments should either have caused breaking of /e/ before /w/[2] or shown failure of first fronting before /w/, see ibid.: §§5.22, 5.13 respectively, hence giving paradigms of the following types:[3]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	
Singular			
Nom.	þēow *servant*	cnēow *knee*	strēaw *straw*
Acc.	þēow	cnēow	strēaw *straw*
Gen.	þeowes	*cneowes	*strawes
Dat.	þeowe	cneowe	*strawe
Plural			
Nom.	þeowas	cneowu	*strawu
Acc.	þeowas	cneowu	*strawu
Gen.	þeowa	cneowa	*strawa
Dat.	þeowum	cneowum	*strawum

Both these types of paradigm, i.e. those for nouns with the Gmc root vowel */e/ and those for nouns with the Gmc root vowel */a/, are subject to restructuring, as discussed in §§3.46–8.

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[1] Except CollGl 12.83 *sēa* 'juice'.

[2] But for reasons to doubt that there ever was breaking of /e/ before /w/, see Fulk (1992: §162n2). Note the parallel failure of breaking of /æ/ before /w/ (which occurs only in the sequence /æwi/, see Hogg (1992b: §5.20). If there was no such breaking, the diphthong in these cases should be regarded as analogical, and therefore long. That is, there may never have existed a form like *cneowum* with a short diphthong, rather, only *cnewum* (as at HomS 19 (Schaefer) 189) later replaced by *cnēowum*.

[3] In the paradigms below we have assumed the reintroduction of -*w* finally, as in other nouns of this type, see further below. No reflex of a masculine noun with Gmc */a/ before the stem formative is attested in OE. For *strēaw* there are no plural forms extant.

3.46 In WS, nouns with original */e/ normally show the paradigm in §3.45, including the reintroduction of -*w*, and forms without -*w* are relatively infrequent, even in EWS.[1] However, the length of the stem-vowel in inflected forms is variable. For both EWS and LWS as exemplified by Ælfric, the regular form of the nom.pl.neut. shows -*u*, e.g. *cneowu*, *treowu*, which suggests a light stem, although some other texts, for example WSCp, have many forms without -*u*, suggesting a heavy stem, i.e. *cnēow*. It seems at least plausible that the forms without -*u* are newer, showing a simplification of the paradigm.[2] This analysis is corroborated by the scansion of such words in poetry, since it is only in the Alfredian Met and the seemingly late Jud that lengthening can be confirmed by the metre.[3] Outside of verse, the normal situation in WS is that orthographically, at least, the paradigm of these nouns is unvarying and exactly like that of nouns like *bēow* discussed in §3.45. Other nouns which pattern like *þēow* are *hlēow* 'protection',[4] *trēow* 'tree', *ancleow* 'ankle',[5] and *lāreow* 'teacher', *lātteow* 'leader', compounds of *þēow*.[6]

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[1] Thus, *trēo* 'tree' *cnēo* 'knee' are in WS prose relatively frequent only in Bede. The situation is somewhat different in the poetry, where diphthong-final forms are frequent, see also the comments immediately following. In Beo, however, names in *-þē̆o(w)*, inflected and uninflected, are spelt without *w* about as frequently as with it, and the manuscript perhaps reads <þeo> for the simplex at Beo 2223, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 76). Otherwise, uninflected *ðēo* without *-w* occurs only in the Merc PsGl(A) 108, 28 and (apparently as an archaism) in LawAbt 90, composed *c*.600, though preserved only in a twelfth-century copy.

[2] Exactly how to handle synchronically the variation in length of the diphthong evident in most WS is difficult, for there is no obvious synchronic, phonologically based conditioning to produce length. It might be best to regard the underlying stem as short and then morphologically lengthen the stem diphthong in the nom.sg., although this is an unhappy 'brute force' solution. See also K.H. Wagner (1969: 253–6).

[3] See Fulk (1992: §§162–9), and on Beo particularly, Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 327–8).

[4] But the usual uninflected form is *hlēo*, which is also found in the dat.sg. at Gen 102, And 567, see Campbell (1977: §584).

[5] Probably re-formed on the analogy of *cnēow*. The second syllable bears reduced stress, which accounts for the short diphthong.

[6] Beside forms of the *an*-declension, i.e. *lāreowa*, *lātteowa*.

3.47 In Nbr the status of the above nouns is somewhat obscured by the tendency in that dialect to write the diphthong as <ew>, e.g. *cnēw*, *trēw*, and also the interchange of <eo> and <ea>, see for both Hogg (1992b: §§5.44–5). This makes it difficult to interpret, for example, variations in dat.pl. forms such as MtGl(Li) 17.14 *cnēum*, LkGl(Li) 5.8 *cnēuum*, 22.41 *cnēoum*, although it is most probable that they all represent a diphthong followed by /w/.[1] To the extent that Merc has similar forms, *-w* usually appears, but PsGl(A) also has 73.5 *trēa* gen.pl. and Ca 6.37 *eletrēs* 'olive tree' gen.sg., cf. the Nbr forms in n1.

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[1] Yet there are a few forms in which this cannot be so, especially in *trēo* 'tree', which is usually nom.sg. *trē*, and similarly in sg. inflected forms, e.g. gen.sg. *trēes*, although in the pl. diphthongal forms predominate. The same appears to be true with *strē* 'straw' for *strēaw*. This variation is puzzling and remains unaccounted for; see Ross (1940: 47–52), who claims that *trēes* is due to Norse influence (which means that Merc *-trēs* has to be explained separately) and that *strē* is by orthographic analogy to *trē*. Ross's account seems unconvincing.

3.48 In WS, the only noun of this kind in the *as*-declension with original Gmc */a/ is restructured on the basis of the nom.sg. without allomorphic variation, i.e. *strēaw* ~ *strēawes*. This noun always shows final *-w* in uninflected forms[1] and hence patterns exactly like e.g. *þēaw* ~ *þēawes* (outside of the nom.&acc.pl., since *þēaw* is masc.), with original Gmc */au/, see §3.45. In other dialects the noun patterns similarly to those discussed in §3.47, see especially n1.

[1] The compound *strēaberiġe* (alongside *strēawberiġe*) 'strawberry' is scarcely relevant, since either the variations are orthographic or we may assume loss of /w/ in composition. (On the relation of orthography to phonology in early medieval texts, see Laing and Lass 2003.)

3.49 It may be observed from the discussion in §§3.43–8 that, despite the often complex history of this overall group of nouns, the strong tendency in all of them is to develop a new paradigm without allomorphic variation, and in which the nom.sg. ends in either orthographic or phonological *-w*. Essentially, therefore, these nouns come to differ from a noun like *stān* only in the fact that their nom.sg. ends in *-w* rather than *-n*.

(j) Apocope

3.50 In nouns of the *as*-declension the only form in which apocope can potentially occur is the nom.pl. of neuter nouns.[1] With monosyllabic neuters the situation in WS is relatively straightforward, in that light-stemmed nouns, with one predictable set of exceptions, see below, show *-u* or *-a*, see §3.9, in the nom.pl. and heavy-stemmed nouns have -Ø, e.g. *sċipu* 'ships' vs. *word* 'words'.[2,3] Apart from the type discussed in n2, the most obvious apparent surface exceptions to this situation are nouns like *wīte* 'punishment', with nom.pl. *wītu* despite the preceding heavy syllable. For an analysis of this type, see §3.34.

[1] Recall especially that here nom.pl. includes the synchronically identical acc.pl., see §3.7.

[2] This general statement is not, however, without exceptions. Some, especially later, texts show *-u* even after heavy syllables. Particularly rich sources include LibSc and PsGl(D), with frequent examples such as *wordu*, *weorcu* (although these may be found alongside other forms like PsGl(D) *sċēap* 'sheep' pl. This shift, which may have been motivated by a desire to distinguish sg. and pl. forms, can best be analysed as a loss of the synchronic rule of apocope (see below, §§3.65, 3.67, 3.72), which is in any case somewhat morphologized in its restriction to nouns and adjs. against verbs, see further §§4.43, 4.11. See also §3.70 for the situation elsewhere, particularly NNbr.

[3] At least at first sight, it seems clear that this variation can be handled by a synchronic rule of *u*-apocope after a heavy syllable, which will apply equally to historical *wa*-stems like *searu* 'devices', in which final *-u* may be explained on the basis of the development /sæ̆ɑrwu/ → /sæ̆ɑrw/ and subsequent vocalization to /sæ̆ɑru/. (Two problems persist, however. The first of these is whether /w/ might be subject to apocope in the same positions, cf. §3.44, and the derivation of *searu* immediately below. The second arises from the existence of the alternative inflexion *-a*, see below.) This rule is presumably a

subpart of a more general rule which apocopates both high vowels (/i, u/) and presumably also /j/, cf. Hogg (1992b: §§6.20, 6.25) for the historical development. Generative treatments such as Kiparsky and O’Neil (1976), Dresher (1978) and Keyser and O’Neil (1985) have a rule normally called High Vowel Deletion (or the like) which follows the broad outlines of this more general apocope. It seems more helpful in the present context to consider only the relevant subpart of the rule without attempting to prejudge whether or not the more general rule is the more appropriate, see Hogg (2000: 355). It should also be noted that the synchronic analysis of the final vowel is made more complex by the alternative form *-a*, see also §3.57n1.

3.51 NNbr is remarkable for the number of instances in which *u*-apocope fails even after a heavy syllable, cf. §3.50n2. Thus, in Li only about 25% of heavy stems have -Ø in the nom.pl., see Ross (1937: 55), whilst in DurRitGl -Ø is equally uncommon except, perhaps, in the case of *sċīp* ‘sheep’ (6×) alongside 19.19 *sċīpo*, see Lindelöf (1890: 105). This phenomenon is not found in the comparable SNbr or Merc texts, nor in PsGl(A).

(k) Double plurals

3.52 As is pointed out in §§2.97–100, all nouns which historically belonged to the *s*-stem class, and were therefore neuter, adopted the endings of the *as*-declension in OE. These nouns are divisible into two groups: (i) those which show an *-r-* after the stem in the pl. but not in the sg.; (ii) those which show an *-r-* throughout their paradigm. The second type shows no particular characteristics of variation which are not found with other *as*-declension nouns of the same syllabic structure, except it should be noted that parallel pairs of nouns are sometimes found with and without *i*-umlaut, e.g. *sele* ~ *salor* ‘hall’,[1] which is indicative that the original *i*-umlaut variations characteristic of the historical stem class, see §§2.95–6, had been either extended throughout the paradigm or levelled away.[2] The first type, however, requires further discussion.

3.53 Three nouns regularly show the characteristics of type (i) *r*-stems: *ǣġ* ‘egg’, *lamb* ‘lamb’ and *ċealf* ‘calf’, and the paradigms of the first two, at least, demonstrate that they accept the normal inflexions of neuter nouns of the *as*-declension except that in the plural, *-r-* directly follows the stem and precedes the inflexional ending, hence, for example, gen.sg. *lambes* ~ gen.pl. *lambra*. Since these nouns show the same set of inflexions as other *as*-declension neuters, it is most appropriate to treat the intervening *-r-* as an additional marker of plurality which is inserted before the inflexion. On the other hand, usage with *ċealf* is variable. Often it follows the same pattern as the other two nouns, but in Ælfric it has adopted the regular plural of masc. nouns of the *as*-declension, e.g. *ċealfas*, *ċealfum* at ÆHom 22.264, 267.[1] Elsewhere in LWS, both patterns are found.[2,3] In Ælfrician texts, although *ċild* 'child' usually displays the forms of a neut. noun of the *as*-declension, as is regularly the case in EWS, cf. §2.99, forms with intrusive *-r-*, i.e. nom.acc.pl. *ċildru*, *-a*, gen.pl. *ċildra*, dat.pl. *ċildrum*, become more common, forming a significant minority.[4]

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[1] See also §3.14&n1.

[2] The remarks in §3.33n2 on the general loss of any synchronic rule of *i*-umlaut in OE noun morphology are pertinent here.

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[1] But note that if these are inflected forms of *ċealf*, then ÆHom 31.103 *an ċealf* acc.sg. shows that the noun remains neut. in gender, and the replacement is purely phonological.

[2] In lNbr, Li shows gen.sg. *cælfes*, *celfes*, with the inflexion of the *as*-declension added to an umlauted stem.

[3] Examples of other words are isolated and late: PsGl(D, K) 147.6, OccGl 50.1.2 147.17 *brēadru*, *-a* 'breadcrumbs', AldV 1.5125 *hǣmedru* 'sexual intercourse', LorGl 2.19 *lēower* 'hams' (also LorGl 1.17 *lēwera* gen.pl., Ch 1506 *lǣuw* nom.sg.), ClGl 1.3862 *speldra* 'torches'.

[4] RegCGl 2.116 *ċildran* is dat.pl. Note the curious form *ċildas* in the Nbr MtGl(Li) 19.13, which might be compared with the forms in n2.

3.54 These nouns, however, show one further peculiarity in that their nom.pl. always has inflexional *-u* in WS, i.e. *ǣġru*, *ċealfru*, *lambru*. There are two possible explanations for this preservation of the inflexion. Firstly, we might suggest that the additional marker of plurality is not /r/ but vowel + /r/, for example /lamburu/.[1] This structure is exactly parallel to that of, say, *hēafdu* 'heads', see §3.63, and hence, in a synchronic treatment, apocope would fail and then syncope would delete the vowel of the medial syllable.[2] Alternatively, we might suggest that the additional marker of plurality is simply /r/ and that, as described in §§3.65, 3.67, 3.72, the rule of *u*-apocope has been lost from the morphology of these nouns.

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[1] We discount the possibility that the underlying form of the nom.sg. might also be disyllabic, e.g. */lambu/, for the interaction of that structure with that suggested for nouns such as *bearu* (< /bearw/), see §3.42, would be difficult, as also might be the case with a rule of *u*-deletion to parallel the rule of *e*-deletion required for nouns like *wine*, see §3.33.

[2] Cf. §3.64 for a diachronic treatment.

3.55 There is evidence in favour of both of these suggestions. For the first, beside expected *calferu*, *lomberu*, PsGl(A) has *calfur* (2×), *lombor* (1×) and Ru2 has *lombor* (3×), the latter of which parallel the structure for disyllabics with a heavy first syllable that were originally monosyllabic, a structure that is observable principally in the dialect of PsGl(A), see §3.64.[1] For the second it should be noted that *ċild* 'child', which normally has the regular nom.pl. *ċild*, has in LWS an increasing number of examples of the type *ċildru*, *-a*, which suggests that there is a tendency to see the nom.pl.

of this word and a few others as *-ru*, see §2.99 for further details. A third possibility is that *-u* came to be in LWS proper to the nom.acc.pl. of all disyllabic neuter nouns ending in a sonorant, see §3.72.

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[1] Li also has *lombor* at JnGl 21.15, but this is immediately followed by JnGl 21.16 *lomboro*, and note also LkGl 10.3 *lombro*.

(l) Disyllabic nouns[1,2]

3.56 Disyllabic stems may be classified into several subtypes, according to the internal structure of each of their syllables: (a) heavy first syllable with VC second syllable, e.g. *drihten* 'lord' (masc.), *hēafod* 'head' (neut.); (b) heavy first syllable followed by a sonorant which at least originally was non-syllabic, e.g. *finger* 'finger' (masc.), *tācn* 'sign' (neut.); (c) light first syllable with VC second syllable, e.g. *metod* 'creator' (masc.), *werod* 'troop' (neut.); (d) light first syllable followed by a sonorant which at least originally was non-syllabic, e.g. *fugol* 'bird' (masc.), *weder* 'weather' (neut.); (e) any first syllable with a heavy second syllable, e.g. *cyning* 'king' (masc.), *fulwiht* 'baptism' (neut.).[3] These subtypes reflect historical origins and development rather than synchronic status. Stems of types (b) and (d) are often treated as metrically monosyllabic in some (presumably older, in most cases) OE verse, whilst those of types (a) and (c) are rarely so treated.[4] Thus, given the conservatism of poetic language, it may be assumed that at some earlier point in the OE period a distinction amongst the types was at least partly maintained. It is necessary to discuss each type separately before considering whether they remained synchronically distinct in later OE.

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[1] Many writers refer to these nouns as trisyllabic, given their structure in PGmc with an inflexional ending in the nom.sg., e.g. **metudaz* (> OE *metod* 'creator'). Such usage is confusing in reference to their synchronic status in OE. Note also that nouns of types (b) and (d) below have a stem-final sonorant which is not in origin syllabic, but which becomes so only by native OE processes of syllabification and epenthesis, see Fulk (1992: §§76–98) and n2 below.

[2] It will be apparent that the following discussion has been heavily influenced by the work presented in Fulk (1992: §§76–98), which was not available when Hogg (1992b: esp. §§6.38–45) was written. There are, therefore, some differences between the latter account and the remarks on epenthesis and syllabification in the following sections, but we do not believe there are any serious contradictions.

[3] Nouns of the type exemplified by *bebod* 'command' with pl. *bebodu*, *ġebed* 'prayer' with pl. *ġebedu* are not to be regarded as disyllabic nouns, for in both cases the prefix is unstressed, and therefore they behave exactly as monosyllabic nouns. For the stress of *bebod*, see Hogg (1992b: §2.91(2a)).

[4] This was first observed by Sievers (1885: 480–2).

3.57 In nouns of type (a) with a heavy first syllable + VC, syncope of the vowel of the second syllable is normal in all inflected forms, to give paradigms of the following types:

	Masculine	**Neuter**
Singular		
Nom.	drihten *lord*	hēafod *head*
Acc.	drihten	hēafod
Gen.	drihtnes	hēafdes
Dat.	drihtne	hēafde
Plural		
Nom.	drihtnas	hēafda, hēafdu[1]
Acc.	drihtnas	hēafda, hēafdu[1]
Gen.	drihtna	hēafda
Dat.	drihtnum	hēafdum

Forms without syncope, e.g. *drihtenes* gen.sg., do occur, however, more commonly in LWS than in Angl, even occasionally in Ælfric, though syncopated forms always predominate. Such is the synchronic state of affairs; on the historical development of the type, see §3.64. Other nouns which are of this type include:

(a) masc.: *āþum* 'son-in-law',[2] *ǣled* 'fire', *bannuc* 'cake',[3] *bismer* 'disgrace',[4] *brēmel* 'bramble', *bȳtel* 'hammer', *dēofol* 'devil' (see §2.12n2), *ealdor* 'prince', *ellen* 'courage' (also neut.), *ēþel* 'home', *hassuc* 'hassock',[3] *mattoc* 'mattock',[3] *ōfor* 'margin, shore',[5] *sċyttel* 'bolt', *stȳpel* 'steeple', *þēoden* 'prince', *þȳmel* 'thimble', and the restructured Lat loan *mynster* 'monastery', see §2.20n1;

(b) neut.: *hǣmed* 'sexual intercourse', *þȳrel* 'hole' and, when neut., see §2.12n2, *dēofol* 'devil'. The words *lendenu* 'loins',[6] *mæġden* 'maiden', *nīten* 'animal' are inflected the same way, though in WS, unlike in Angl, there is usually no syncope in these, see further Hogg (1992b: §6.32), and §3.64 below.[7] Also to be included here are polysyllabic nouns with the diminutive suffix *-inċel*, e.g. *hūsinċel* 'small house', *stāninċel* 'small stone', *ðēowinċel* 'little servant'.[8]

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[1] Ælfric seems to prefer *-a* to *-u*, although both occur, see §3.9. The question whether this is a purely phonological development or a substitution of one inflexion for another is of some consequence, since if the latter is the case, the synchronic status of *u*-apocope is called into doubt, see Hogg (1997a). Campbell (1977: §377) appears to claim that the development is purely phonological, but that must be considered doubtful, since *-a* is not substituted for *-u*/*-o* in the nom.sg. of light-stemmed *ō*-stems, and the substitution must therefore be morphologically conditioned, see Hogg (2000: 366).

[2] From **aiþumaz*; cf. OHG *eidum*.

[3] There appear to be no examples of syncope in these words. This may be either for phonotactic reasons or, less likely, because the vowels of these obscure suffixes could have been long at the time of syncope, cf. §2.17n3, with the references there. If the latter is the case, then they would belong to type (e), like *fultum* 'assistance'.

[4] It is noteworthy that syncope occurs even here, as in dat.sg. *bismre*. The phonotactic difficulties of this form are perhaps exemplified by the relative frequency of unsyncopated *bismere* even in EWS texts such as CP and Or. The noun appears in all three genders.

[5] Campbell (1977: §574(3)) assigns a short root vowel to this word and classifies it as belonging to type (d), but the PGmc form is usually reconstructed as **ōƀeraz*: cf. MHG *uover*.

[6] Always plural, although *lenden* frequently occurs as the first constituent of a compound, as in *lendeneċe* 'pain in the loins, loin ache'.

[7] But cf. Lch II (1) 45.5.1 *nȳtne* dat.sg.; however, Lch II *nētnum* dat.pl. and PsGl(B) 77.46 *nētnu* acc.pl. have the Anglian root vowel. Cf. also PsGl(B) 44.4 *lendna* acc.pl.

[8] See Dahl (1938: 73) on the status of this suffix.

3.58 The typical LWS paradigms of type (b) nouns, in which a heavy first syllable is followed by a sonorant that was at least originally non-syllabic, may be exemplified as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**
Singular		
Nom.	finger *finger*	tāc(e)n[1] *sign*
Acc.	finger	tāc(e)n
Gen.	fingres	tācnes
Dat.	fingre	tācne
Plural		
Nom.	fingras	tācna, tācnu
Acc.	fingras	tācna, tācnu
Gen.	fingra	tācna
Dat.	fingrum	tācnum

Inflected forms with epenthesis, e.g. *fingeres* gen.sg., occur occasionally, especially in Li. Other nouns of the same type include:

(a) masc.: *æppel* 'apple',[2] *ǣþm* 'breath', *blōstm* 'blossom', *bōsm* 'bosom', *hleahtor* 'laughter', *māþm* 'treasure', *sċuldor* 'shoulder',[3] *wæstm* 'fruit';

(b) neut.: *ātor* 'poison', *bēacn* 'beacon', *cnōsl* 'race', *cumbol* 'banner', *fācn* 'crime', *fōdor* 'fodder', *fōdor* 'case', *hrīsl* 'shuttle',[4] *hūsl* 'Eucharist', *spātl* 'saliva', *tūddor* 'progeny', *wǣpn* 'weapon', *wolcen* 'cloud',[5] *wuldor* 'glory', *wundor* 'wonder'.[6]

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[1] On the distribution of epenthesized and non-epenthesized forms of the nom.sg., see firstly §3.65.

[2] Originally an *u*-stem and frequently inflected as such in the plural, e.g. *appla*. Its use may be as a neut. at AldV 1.3734 *-applu*, where the form may result from the equation of *-a* and *-u*.

[3] But *sċuldor* is exceptional in having nom.pl. *sċuldru*, *-o*, *-a*. This is not neut. but probably an old dual form, which may be compared with *duru* ‘door’, *nosu* ‘nose’, see Hogg (1992b: §6.25). The modern pl. form occurs just once, in three parallel late interlinear glosses, i.e. PsCa(D, E, K) 7.11 *sċuldras*.

[4] LRid 7 *hrīsil* must metrically have a long vowel in the first syllable. This structure is advocated by Smith (1978: 46), Pheifer (1974: §67) and Fulk (1992: §88n28), although ErfGl 851 *hrīsl* is unreliable. For alternative views, see Bülbring (1902: §444), Campbell (1977: §574.4).

[5] CP has *wolc* (2× side by side at 285.20, 24), and the same form is found very rarely elsewhere. These suggest an originally monosyllabic stem, though whether the word is etymologically monosyllabic cannot be determined for certain, since there are no close cognates outside of WGmc, and hence, e.g., Orel (2003: 474) is undecided. The word is twice metrically disyllabic in Ex. In PsGl(A) the nom.acc.pl. is usually *wolcen* (6×), like other originally monosyllabic nouns in that text, but twice *wolcenu*.

[6] The historical masc. *u*-stem *winter* ‘winter’, which is always masc. in the sg., has nom.pl. *winter*, which appears to belong to this type. This pl. form occurs alongside rare *wintras* and Nbr *wintru*, *-o*, *-a*. The origins and status of the Nbr forms remain undetermined.

3.59 The typical LWS paradigms of type (c) nouns, disyllabic in origin, in which a light first syllable is followed by VC, may be exemplified as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**
Singular		
Nom.	metod *creator*	werod *troop*
Acc.	metod	werod
Gen.	metodes	werodes
Dat.	metode	werode
Plural		
Nom.	metodas	werod
Acc.	metodas	werod
Gen.	metoda	weroda
Dat.	metodum	werodum

Other nouns of the same type include:

(a) masc.: *awel* ‘awl’, *bydel* ‘beadle’, *cradol* ‘cradle’,[1] *daroþ* ‘dart’, *eodor* ‘enclosure’, *eofor* ‘boar’, *eosol* ‘ass’, *falod* ‘fold’, *faroþ* ‘sea water’, *hafoc* ‘hawk’, *hamor* ‘hammer’,[2] *heofon* ‘heaven’, *sadol* ‘saddle’, *seoloc* ‘silk’, *waroþ* ‘shore’, *weoloc* ‘whelk’.

(b) neut.:[3] *gamen* ‘game’, *mæġen* ‘strength’, *ofet* ‘fruit’, *reċed* ‘building’, *wæter* ‘water’,[4] *yfel* ‘evil’.

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[1] Campbell (1977: §574(3)) regards this word as belonging to type (d), but cf. Pokorny (1959: 386).

[2] Campbell (1977: §574(3)) regards these words as belonging to type (d), but cf. ON *hǫmurr*, *sǫðull*.

[3] Campbell (1977: §574(4)) regards **waroþ* 'seaweed' as belonging to this group, but it is usually regarded as having a long vowel in the first syllable, as suggested by the poetic metre at Rid40 49 and the apparent etymological connexion to *wār* 'seaweed'.

[4] Brunner (1965: §243.3) and Campbell (1977: §574.3) regard *wæter* as belonging to type (d), i.e. with an underlying stem *wætr-*. The stem may have had that form in lOE, see Bermúdez-Otero and Hogg (2003: 111–12), but cf. §§3.71–2; however, etymologically the stem is disyllabic, since the noun is in origin a heteroclitic stem, and in WGmc the paradigm is based on the stem in *-*ar*- rather than *-*n*-, hence **watar*-, see Bammesberger (1990a: 204), also Amos (1980: 73), Fulk (1992: §84n21). Monosyllabic ON *vatn* is based on the stem in -*n*-.

3.60 The typical LWS paradigm of type (d) nouns, in which a light syllable is followed by a sonorant that was at least originally non-syllabic, may be exemplified as follows:[1]

	Masculine	**Neuter**
Singular		
Nom.	þeġ(e)n *servant*	wed(e)r *weather*, *storm*
Acc.	þeġ(e)n	wed(e)r
Gen.	þeġ(e)nes	wed(e)res
Dat	þeġ(e)ne	wed(e)re
Plural		
Nom.	þeġ(e)nas	wed(e)ra, -u[2]
Acc.	þeġ(e)nas	wed(e)ra, -u[2]
Gen.	þeġ(e)na	wed(e)ra
Dat.	þeġ(e)num	wed(e)rum

Inflected forms with epenthesis, e.g. *þeġenes* gen.sg., are to be found already in EWS, as well as in Ælfric. Other nouns of the same type include:[3]

(a) masc.: *æcer* 'field', *befer* 'beaver',[4] *botm* 'bottom', *fæþm* 'embrace', *fugol* 'bird', *hæsel* 'hazel', *hræfen* 'raven', *næġl* 'nail', *ofen* 'oven', *reġn* 'rain', *seġel* 'sail' (often neut.).[5]
(b) neut.: *botl* 'dwelling', *bræġen* 'brain' *leġer* 'bed', *setl* 'seat'.

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[1] *Þeġn* and other words with /j/ before /n/, e.g. *reġn*, can, especially in LWS, show an alternative development with loss of /j/ and compensatory lengthening to *þēn*, etc., see Hogg (1992b: §7.71) for details. In such instances the nouns pattern exactly as *stān*, etc. But these forms, which we shall ignore here because of their lack of morphological interest, seem always to co-exist with forms without this development.

[2] Most handbooks give an inflexionless form for the nom.acc.pl. of such nouns, but although, for example, nom.pl. *weder* does occur at Lch II (2) 41.2.1 (though this is an Anglian-derived text), it is not the usual form in WS of any date. The situation is similar in NNbr, but not in Merc, see §§3.70–1.

[3] Nouns listed below as lacking an epenthetic vowel never show such a vowel in the nom.acc.sg. Note that JnGl(Li) 1.18 *fæðm* is dat.sg.

[4] See Campbell (1977: §395n1). The argument of Kümmel (2004) that this word and some others of this type had an alternately monosyllabic or disyllabic stem by case is unpersuasive.

[5] Campbell (1977: §574(3)) includes here **ofor* 'shore', but see §3.57n5.

3.61 In nouns of type (e), which are characterized by an originally heavy second syllable,[1] either because of a consonant cluster in the rhyme or an originally long vowel which had not been shortened by the time of syncope, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.26–33), syncope naturally does not occur and the words follow the paradigm of *stān* if masc. and *word* if neut. Such failure of syncope is regular when the second syllable is one of the suffixes *-dom*, *-els*, *-had*, *-ing* (and hence *-ling*), *-oþ* (all masc.) and the neut. suffix *-lac*. Typical examples are: *cynedom* 'royalty', *wīsdom* 'wisdom', *gyrdels* 'girdle', *rǣdels* 'counsel', *camphad* 'warfare', *ċildhad* 'childhood', *æþeling* 'prince', *cyning* 'king', *dēorling* 'favourite', *hȳrling* 'hireling', *fiscoþ* 'fishing', *huntoþ* 'hunting',[2] *āglac* 'misery', *wedlac* 'wedlock'. The same structure is seen in: (i) obscured compounds of the type *færeld* 'journey' (also neut.), *fultum* 'help', *hlāford* 'lord' (all masc.), *fulwiht* 'baptism' (neut.); (ii) nouns which have a heavy second syllable due to neither suffixation nor compounding, e.g. *henġest* 'horse', *īsern* 'iron' (neut.; but see §2.21n3), *merisċ* 'marsh', see also Hogg (1992b: §6.68); (iii) Lat loans, especially those borrowed no earlier than the time of Christianization, e.g. *altar* 'altar', *apostol* 'apostle'. Naturally, these nouns are morphologically straightforward.

[1] More precisely, when the final syllable of the stem is heavy, thus including the final syllable of trisyllabic words like *æþeling* below.

[2] And similarly forms with the suffix *-noþ*, e.g. *fisċnoþ*. The *-n-* is extended from related verbs in *-nian*, e.g. *drohtnoþ* 'way of life' beside *drohtoþ*, due to *drohtnian* 'behave'. Also to be included here are words in which *-oþ* is not due to suffixation, thus *oroþ* 'breath', see Hogg (1992b: §6.5). Perhaps *wāroþ* 'seaweed' is amongst these, see §3.59n3.

3.62 A source of disyllabic nouns in WS rather different from any discussed above is originally neut. *ja*-stems with the suffixes *-enn*, *-ett*, e.g. *ǣfen* 'evening', *fæsten* 'fortress', *fæsten* 'fast', *wēsten* 'desert', *bærnet* 'arson', *þiċċet* 'thicket', see for further examples §2.21. In these nouns there should have been an alternation between ungeminated nom.sg. and geminated forms elsewhere, but degemination is gradually extended, see §3.40. In WS these nouns always have nom.pl. in *-u*, e.g. *wēsten(n)u*, *þiċċet(t)u*. From an historical point of view this may be the expected result, although it contrasts with *cynn* 'race' nom.pl., see §2.24n3, Hogg (1992b: §6.25). Synchronically, if degemination is ordered before apocope, or, and perhaps more plausibly, such words are assumed, with the loss of any geminate examples, to have an underlying non-geminate final consonant, then it is also the case that retention of *-u* would be predicted.[1]

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[1] In essence, this latter analysis would align such nouns with the type (a) *mæġden* 'maiden', etc., in WS, see §3.57.

3.63 If we exclude from the following discussion type (e) disyllabics, which behave exactly like heavy-stemmed monosyllables, we can apparently observe the following variations in the remaining four types: (i) syncope of an unstressed medial vowel after a heavy syllable, as in *drihtnes*, *hēafdes* (type a); (ii) vowel epenthesis between a consonant and a sonorant,[1] as in *fugeles*, *wederes* (type d) and, but very differently, *finger*, *tācen* (type b); (iii) *u*-apocope in neut. nouns of type (c) such as *werod*. Since *u*-apocope is historically a change which occurs either after a heavy syllable (as in *word*) or after a light syllable followed by another syllable (as in *werod*), see Hogg (1992b: §§6.18, 6.20), it will be plain that the structure of the stem and the interaction of the rules of syncope and epenthesis are potentially crucial to the operation of apocope.

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[1] Or syllabification of the previously non-syllabic sonorant, since we cannot be certain of the intention behind the orthographic insertion of a vowel before the sonorant.

3.64 Phonologically, the most conservative dialect of OE as regards undisrupted preservation of the results of syncope and apocope as applied to disyllabic stems is the dialect of PsGl(A). In this dialect, exceptions to the rule of syncope in an open syllable after a heavy syllable are vanishingly rare: whilst WS not infrequently has forms with analogically restored vowels that had been syncopated, such as *ēðeles*, *bysmore*, in PsGl(A) such forms do not occur amongst noun stems (and rarely in other declensional stems),[1] with a single, principled exception: syncope fails in a syllable preceding inflexional *-u* (but not *-um*), be it fem.nom.sg. or neut.nom.acc.pl. Hence, in PsGl(A), normal forms are *nētenu* 'cattle', *hēafudu* 'heads'. More remarkably, in PsGl(A) a rather consistent distinction is observed in the nom.acc.pl., but no other case, between stems of type (a) and of type (b): stems of type (a) retain final *-u* in these cases, as they ought on an etymological basis, whilst those of type (b) apocopate it, again as they ought. Thus, there is a rather firm distinction between nom.acc.pl. *nētenu*, *hēafudu*, on the one hand (type a), and *bēcen* 'signs', *wēpen* 'weapons' on the other (type b),[2] with few exceptions.[3] The principled nature of the general exception to syncope was recognized in the older handbooks (Sievers, 1898: §144&A1; Wright and Wright 1925: §216), though the newer ones, and most recent studies, seem to regard forms like *hēafudu* as analogical creations, see e.g. Brunner (1965: §159A2), Campbell (1977: §353). Rather, the great regularity in PsGl(A) of the distinction between types (a) and (b) in this regard

– a distinction that could not have been recovered once lost, since the paradigms of types (a) and (b) are otherwise identical – must lead to the conclusion that the forms attested in PsGl(A) are the direct results of the historical application of syncope and apocope, and therefore forms like WS *hēafdu*, *dēoflu* 'devils' are analogical creations.[4] The motivation for their creation is to obviate the irregularity that although the inflected stem is otherwise always monosyllabic, before *-u* it is disyllabic, as it is when uninflected. In PsGl(A) this irregularity was handled in a converse manner: there arose nom.acc.pl. *hēafud* (5×) beside original *hēafudu* (2×), by analogy to the nom.acc.pl. of nouns of type (c) like *werod*. For details, see Fulk (2010c).

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[1] It appears that the only relevant exceptions are a few adjectivals: *ēoweres*, *ylċere*, *ānhyrnera*, *ġedrōēfede*, *forċerrede*. See Zeuner (1881: 65–7).

[2] As the number of nouns of this type in PsGl(A) is small, and *nētenu* in this respect does not differ from the WS form, see §3.57, to demonstrate the point it is necessary to consider evidence from outside the class of disyllabic nouns of the *as*-declension. The other forms cited in Fulk (2010c: 135, which see for discussion) are the following: *calferu* 'calves', *ēadigu* 'blessed', *forċerredu* 'corrupted', *īdelu* 'idle', *īrenu* 'iron' (adj.), *lomberu* 'lambs', *lȳtelu* 'little', *ōðeru* 'other', *wōērigu* 'weary'.

[3] PsGl(A) 95.5 *ðīoful* (for *dīoful*) nom.pl. is due to the fact that the noun changed gender after the application of syncope and apocope, see §3.138. *Calfur* and *lombur* (beside *calferu*, *lomberu*) may be due to the co-occurrence of monosyllabic and disyllabic forms of the nom.pl. of *s*-stems in PGmc, see §2.99n1, and cf. §3.55. The co-occurrence of *wolcenu* (2×) and *wolcen* (6×) plainly points to analogical disruption, though which form is original cannot be determined for certain, see §3.58n5. The apparent reference in Keyser and O'Neil (1985: 143) to a form *wunduru* in PsGl(A) must be a misprint. On *hēafud* beside *hēafudu*, see below. Amongst the adjectives, there are two instances of *īdel* nom.sg.fem. alongside *īdelu* (1×).

[4] Against the possibility that, historically, the rules simply applied differently in the two dialects, see Fulk (2010c: 136–7).

3.65 Historically, type (b) nouns derive from a stem of the type *tācn-* with a final post-consonantal sonorant, but since neut.nom.pl. *-u* is often attached to such stems in WS, there arises the possibility that type (b) has been reanalysed as underlyingly disyllabic, and thus these nouns have been assimilated to type (a), i.e. like *hēafod*. Such, for example, is the view of Brunner (1965: §243.3) and in part Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976: 534). There are reasons, however, to doubt this analysis as a blanket generalization. For LWS it is probably true of stems in post-consonantal /r/, whether with a heavy or a light first syllable. Thus, for example, *ealdor* 'prince' and *ealdor* 'life' are inflected alike, though the former is etymologically disyllabic (type b) and the latter monosyllabic (type a): both usually have the disyllabic form *ealdor* when uninflected and the monosyllabic stem *ealdr-* before vocalic inflexions. This is because, historically, the former undergoes syncope in inflected cases and the latter epenthesis in uninflected. The same generalization cannot be made, however, about nouns with stems ending in a sonorant other than /r/, in which a degree of differentiation between types (a) and (b) is maintained. Thus, in Ælfric, several words of type (b) are consistently spelt without a vowel before the final sonorant, thus *ādl* 'disease', *ǣðm* 'breath', *bēacn* 'sign', *wæstm* 'fruit', whereas spelling varies in some others, thus *tācn* 'symbol' more frequently than *tācen*, but usually *hūsel* 'eucharist' rather than *hūsl*. By contrast, throughout LWS, nouns of type (a) are almost always spelt with a vowel before the sonorant in uninflected forms, thus *bismer*/*bysmor* 'disgrace' (never ***bismr*/***bysmr*), *(e)aldor* 'prince' (never ***(e)aldr*), *drihten* 'lord' (never ***drihtn*), *þēoden* 'lord' (never ***þēodn*), *dēofol* 'devil' (never ***dēofl*), *ēþel* 'homeland' (but HlGl C1125 *ēþl*), *enġel* 'angel' (but *enġl* 2× in Ælfric). It thus appears to be necessary to assume that an underlying distinction was maintained in WS between nouns of types (a) and (b).[1] The situation is similar in NNbr, but there /n/ is treated the same way as /r/, hence *finger* 'finger' (cf. *fingeres* gen.sg., *fingre* dat.sg., *fingeras* acc.pl.), *bēcon* 'sign' (cf. *bēcena*, *bēcno* gen.pl.), *tācon* 'symbol' (cf. *tāceno* gen.pl.), *-ādl* 'disease', *hūsul* 'eucharist', *wæstm*, *wæstem*, *wæstim* 'fruit' (cf. *wæstma* gen.pl., *wæstmum* dat.pl.). As the examples illustrate, the distinction between /r, n/ and /l, m/ is reinforced by the fact that the former may be syllabic even in inflected cases. Such treatment of medial sonorants is infrequent in LWS, e.g. Lch I 147.1 *fingeras* acc.pl., Med 1.1 6.8 *æppeles* 'apple' gen.sg. Other Angl texts generally treat /r, n, l, m/ alike, writing a vowel before each in uninflected forms, but usually not before vocalic inflexions.

[1] Certainty on this point is unattainable. The distinction between the two types could be due to spelling conventions. Moreover, it should not be assumed that the treatment of all clusters of stop plus sonorant would have been treated identically, see §3.71.

3.66 The application of syncope to nouns of type (a) in LWS, however, does not appear to be governed on a purely phonological basis. It is true that some nouns of type (a) undergo syncope with great regularity according to expected patterns. Thus, in ÆCHom and ÆLS, *dēofol*, *drihten* and *hēafod* always or almost always have syncopated stems before vocalic inflexions. However, by contrast, *ēðel*, *hǣmed* and *bismer* are usually unsyncopated under similar conditions.[1] Syncope would therefore appear to have become morphologized and lexicalized in LWS. Syncope applies to nouns of type (a) with great regularity in Merc and SNbr; it is also rather regular, surprisingly, in NNbr, despite the notable irregularity of epenthesis there, see §3.65.

[1] For details, see Fulk (2010c: 132–3).

3.67 A further reason to doubt that the distinction between types (a) and (b) has been neutralized in LWS is that it may be assumed that apocope, far from being an active phonological rule, has been lost from the synchronic grammar of the dialect and the ending *-u* apportioned on a morphological or lexical rather than a phonological basis, see §3.72 and Hogg (1997a: 119–21). In EWS the loss of apocope appears to be incipient, since -Ø forms outnumber forms with *-u*, *-a* inflexions,[1] but in LWS the latter forms predominate over the former.[2] The same situation holds in NNbr, e.g. *bēceno* 'signs', *tāceno* 'signs', *wundra* 'miracles', whilst in SNbr although -*o* is more frequent, forms of *bēcn* occur with and without inflexion alongside one another, i.e. *bēceno*, *-ono* (6×), *bēcun*, *-on* (4×), see Lindelöf (1901: §149c). Ru1 is like PsGl(A) in this regard, showing apocope, e.g. *tācen*, *dēoful*. These latter texts, therefore, show a dialect in which no such reanalysis as that referred to above has taken place.

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[1] Except in the case of *wǣpn* 'weapon', where Or has 4 inflected forms against 2 uninflected forms.

[2] Heavily so, if not exclusively in Ælfric. But some other, less canonical, LWS texts such as HomU 12.1 (Thomas), LS 10 (Guthlac), both showing a variety of Angl dialect features, have quite frequent examples such as *tāc(e)n* 'signs', *wundor* 'miracles', whilst the intermediate Lch appears more closely to approximate to the EWS situation.

3.68 In Angl, especially PsGl(A), there is a strong tendency to extend syncope to apply after light syllables as well as heavy. This occurs only in inflected forms. Thus, amongst stems of type (c), in PsGl(A) we find the neuter noun *yflum*, *yfla* beside uninflected *yfel* 'evil', and *meġne*, *meġna*, *meġnum* (just once *meġene*) beside uninflected *meġen* 'power', with etymologically correct apocope of *-u* in *yfel*, *meġen* nom.acc.pl.[1] Syncope fails in such instances almost exclusively when the resulting consonant cluster would be less than optimal in respect of feature compatibilities and sonority hierarchies, as with *reċeda* gen.pl. 'halls' in poetry. In LWS there is a similar but less regular tendency for syncope to occur after a light syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.66ff.), but it applies even in uninflected forms, so that we find monosyllabic forms such as ÆCHom II 8.188 *heort* 'hart' (also twice glossing Lat *cervus*, in ÆGram and ÆGl), and such syncope is then equally found in inflected forms such as *heortas*.[2] But the stronger tendency is for such examples to show syncope only in inflected forms, hence frequent *heofnas*, *heofnum*, etc., but only *heofon*, *heofen*, never ***heofn*. There are thus three variations: (i) words always without syncope; (ii) words with syncope in inflected forms; (iii) words with syncope throughout. Type (ii) includes *awel*, *heofon*, *mæġen*, *yfel*;[3] type (iii) includes *fâld*,[4] *seolc*, *warþ* 'shore' and *weolc*, the remaining words in §3.59 showing no instances of syncope. It would appear that here syncope is controlled by the nature of the final consonant of the first syllable and the consonant of the second syllable, so that syncope always occurs between a sonorant and an obstruent, i.e. type (iii), and it occurs in inflected forms between an obstruent and a sonorant, i.e. type (ii), whilst it never occurs between two obstruents, i.e. type (i). More problematic is the fact that in LWS including Ælfric the normal form of the neut.nom.pl. is without apocope, i.e. *mæġ(e)nu*, *yf(e)lu*. The same is true of NNbr, e.g. Li *mæġna*, etc., but not of either SNbr or Merc, where apocopated forms are regular. Since the *-u* which is found in LWS and NNbr is phonologically unexpected regardless of syncope, the forms are problematic, see §3.72 for a discussion of this issue.

[1] Exceptions as regards *-u* do not occur in noun stems, but amongst the adjectives, in the relevant cases *miċelu* (8×) 'large' occurs alongside *miċel* (4×), and *monigu* (1×) alongside *moniġ* (1×). Both words are antonyms of *lȳtelu* 'little, few', by which they may have been influenced by pairing (*lȳtelu ond miċelu*), a tendency perhaps abetted by the alternation between *-igu* and *-iġ* in adjective stems on the basis of the weight of the preceding syllable, e.g. *hefiġ* 'heavy' alongside *ēadigu* 'blessed', both nom.sg.fem.

[2] On the other hand, such syncopated forms are infrequent in EWS: for example, amongst the neuter nouns Cosijn (1886: §9b) gives only CP(C) 82.11 †*mæġnum* dat.pl., which he takes to be a scribal error, beside CP(H) 83.11 *mæġenum*.

[3] It seems most appropriate to include here *fæder* 'father', historically an *r*-stem, see §2.91. In EWS the paradigm of this word was identical to that of, say, *heofon* except in the gen.dat.sg., where there was zero inflexion, i.e. *fæder*. The same holds true perhaps without significant exception for LWS as exemplified by Ælfric, note only ÆIntSig 59.388 *fæderes*, but later texts such as several of the Psalter glosses show an increasing number of syncopated forms at least for gen.sg. In NNbr the usual form of the gen.sg. is *fadores* (for the medial vowel see §2.94) with occasional syncopated forms and a few forms without inflexion, whilst in Ru2 *fædres* is regular, with isolated unsyncopated and zero-inflected forms. For Merc, PsGl(A) has zero-inflected *feadur* with back umlaut, whilst Ru1 has *fæder* alongside *fæderes* at MtGl 21.31 only. For the dat.sg. all Nbr texts prefer the umlauted and zero-inflected form *feder*, whilst Ru1 has *fæder* and PsGl(A) has *feder*, which is ambiguous but more probably shows second fronting than *i*-umlaut. These forms may be viewed as fossilized relics of the older *r*-stem paradigm. The Nbr nom.pl. *fadero* beside *faderas* is expected for that dialect, see §3.10.

[4] The circumflex signifies a vowel lengthened before a homorganic cluster, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.202–3). It is noted here because the vowel lengthening, for which cf. PDE *fold*, must be the result, not the cause, of the syncope.

3.69 Historically, nouns of type (d) have a stem of the type *fugl-*, *wedr-*, and hence in the nom.sg. they should show syllabification or epenthesis, giving *fugol*, *weder*, etc.[1] In inflected forms, however, the phonological expectation would be that epenthesis would not occur. Nevertheless, the epenthetic vowel of the nom.sg. is often extended throughout the paradigm. Thus we find in LWS *æceras* 'fields' much more frequently than *æcras*, and similarly for most other such nouns, sometimes with unepenthesized forms being uncommon or even rare, so that, for example, unepenthesized forms of the frequent noun *fugol* are not found in the writings of Ælfric, although other LWS texts do occasionally have *fuglas*, etc. The principal deviations from this patterning are with the type *þeġnas*, *þeġenas*, with /j/ before the stem-final consonant, where the distribution of the two formations tends to be reversed. Thus, in ÆCHom, ÆLS and ÆHom the ratio of unepenthesized to epenthesized forms in the nom.pl. of this noun is about 5 : 2. Outside LWS, epenthesis is infrequent even in the nom.sg., see Hogg (1992b: §§6.38–41).

[1] The quality of the epenthetic vowel is initially determined by the quality of the preceding stressed vowel, but in later texts it is most frequently <e> in all environments, see Hogg (1992b: §6.38).

3.70 In the nom.pl., neuter nouns of types (c) and (d) should show *u*-apocope, after two light syllables in the former instance, after a heavy syllable in the latter, see Hogg (1992b: §6.20). Thereafter, epenthesis should have occurred at least in uninflected nouns of type (d), but also sometimes even before a vocalic inflexion, see ibid.: §6.41. The result would be, for example, the nom.acc.pl. forms *wæter* 'waters' in type (c), *weder* 'storms' in type (d). Yet the more frequent WS forms are *wætera*, *-u* and *wedera*, *-u*, already regular in EWS, and such forms cannot be explained on a phonological basis. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is analogy to words of types (a) and (b) in WS with, for example, nom.pl. *deofla*, *-u* 'devils' and *wundra*, *-u* 'wonders', respectively. The usefulness of the inflexion as a way of distinguishing singular and plural is obvious. Such words represent surface violations of the rule of apocope, and thus they reinforce the argument offered above, see §§3.65, 3.67, that apocope had been lost from the synchronic phonology of LWS. As elsewhere, NNbr forms are similar to those in WS, whilst Merc and SNbr both have the older, apocopated nom.pl. in -Ø.

3.71 Type (c) disyllabics, in which a light syllable is followed by VC, e.g. masc. *metod* 'creator', *heofon* 'heaven', neut. *werod* 'troop', *yfel* 'evil', are more diverse in their structures than other types, and it is most profitable to distinguish between those in which C is an obstruent and those in which C is a sonorant. In the former instance the normal situation in all dialects is that apocope occurs but syncope fails. It is noteworthy that in nouns of this type in which syncope does occur, a development which appears to be restricted to instances in which the syncopated vowel is between a liquid and an obstruent, e.g. *fald* 'fold', see further §3.68, then the noun can be restructured as a monosyllable, as a result of which it patterns like *word* 'word'. On the other hand, where C is a sonorant, syncope applies in Angl, whilst it is not as common as lack of syncope in LWS, and even in EWS it is less frequent. As for apocope, even in EWS it frequently fails, and failure of apocope is the rule in LWS and NNbr, hence LWS *yfelu*, NNbr *yflu* 'evils', etc., as discussed in §3.70. The unexpected failure of apocope in these nouns is also found in LWS in neut. nouns of type (d) in which a light syllable is directly followed by a sonorant, e.g. *weder* 'weather', cf. masc. *fugol* 'bird', with LWS pl. *wederu*, *-a*. As these forms illustrate, syllabification of the stem-final sonorant (or epenthesis before it) is general throughout the paradigm in LWS, and it is not unusual in EWS, either, e.g. Or 2 50.4 *æcere* 'field' dat.sg. One plausible analysis for these nouns in at least the Angl dialects is that the type (c) nouns like *yfel* are restructured so that they have an underlying form with a stem-final post-consonantal non-syllabic sonorant, e.g. /yfl/. This would then be identical to the type of underlying structure for *weder*. Such a development seems most probable for Angl, where syncope in type (c) is the rule, and epenthesis in type (d) is generally lacking, so that the two types have fallen together. The two have likewise coalesced in LWS, but in that dialect there is considerable variation in regard to the occurrence of syncope and epenthesis, so that it is more difficult to determine whether the underlying form of the stem is monosyllabic or disyllabic. This variation, however, correlates to the phonotactics of stem structure rather than to etymology. Thus, when the stem-final sonorant is *r*, the stem is much more commonly disyllabic in both types (c) and (d): for example, *wæteru* 'waters' is more commonly to be found than *wætru*, and *wederu* than *wedru*. If, on the other hand, the difference in sonority between the stem-final sonorant and the preceding obstruent is not so great as in these instances, the tendency is reversed: for example, with vocalic inflexions *næġl-* 'nail' is much commoner than *næġel-*, and *hæsl-* 'hazel' (4×) occurs to the exclusion of **hæsel-*. A seeming exception to the pattern's correlation to relative sonority is the stem *setl-*, which appears with a vocalic inflexion very often and almost to the exclusion of *setel-*, which occurs 3× (once in EWS). But this is in conformity with general patterns in the syllabification of OE /l/.[1] All in all, it seems likelier that stems of types (c) and (d) are underlyingly disyllabic in LWS,[2] since monosyllabic spellings like *fugl* 'bird' (only EWS: Met 27.24) are vanishingly rare, whereas monosyllabic spellings of uninflected stems of type (b), such as *tācn* 'sign' and *wǣpn* 'weapon', are quite common. Even *ofn* 'oven', which is to be found in EWS and Nbr, is *ofen* in Ælfric.

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[1] See Hogg (1992b: §6.40). Luick (1914–40: §318) observes that generally in OE no epenthesis occurs before /l/ after /d/ or /t/. This orthographic pattern is confirmed by the absence of metrically detectable parasiting with /l/ after alveolar consonants in verse, see Fulk (1992: §§85–6).

[2] But, to the contrary, Hogg (1997a: 116–17) and Bermúdez-Otero and Hogg (2003: 111–12) regard the underlying stem as monosyllabic in LWS.

3.72 As regards the synchronic status of syncope, apocope, and the underlying distinctions amongst stems of types (a–d), it seems likely that disyllabic nouns constituted a single type in Angl, but not in WS. In NNbr, for example, syllabification (or epenthesis) always applies to a final sonorant after a stop consonant, as with *bēcon* 'beacon', *tācon* 'sign', and inflected forms most commonly show syncope or lack of epenthesis, as with *drihtnes* 'lord's' gen.sg., *tācne* 'sign' dat.sg. Thus, there are no forms like WS *tācn* to contrast with consistently disyllabic uninflected *drihten* 'lord'. The situation is similar in SNbr and Merc, but see below on PsGl(A) and the status of apocope in these dialects. It may therefore be supposed that an originally disyllabic stem like *drihten* has become underlyingly monosyllabic in Angl, and that syllabification or epenthesis acts consistently on uninflected stems of types (i) and (ii) and inconsistently on inflected ones. The dialect of PsGl(A), however, must have retained in underlying forms the distinction between types (a) and (b), given the impressive degree of historical accuracy it shows in distinguishing the two types in the nom.acc.pl. of neuter nouns, see §3.64. Apocope may thus have remained a phonologically conditioned rule in the dialect of PsGl(A), where there are very few surface exceptions to the rule, once it is understood that apocope of *-u* does not apply to stems comprising a heavy syllable followed by a light. Only in PsGl(A) is apocope distributed with considerable regularity on an etymological basis, and it is notable that in this dialect the nom.acc.pl. ending always remains *-u*/*-o*, never *-a*. Forms like *tāceno*, *bēcono* appear in Ru1 and Ru2, belonging originally to type (b), and their treatment in Ru1 more closely resembles that in PsGl(A), whereas their treatment in SNbr more closely resembles that in NNbr, see §3.67. In LWS and NNbr, on the other hand, it seems probable that the synchronic rule of apocope had been lost from the inflectional morphology of *as*-declension nouns. This is because disyllabic neut. stems of all sorts are inflected in the nom.acc.pl. in NNbr, and they are most commonly, though not consistently, inflected in LWS as well. A rule reordering in these dialects, with epenthesis or syllabification ordered before apocope, might account for forms like nom.pl. *bēceno* 'beacons', but not for those like *tācnu* 'signs' and *wæt(e)ru* 'waters'.[1] The phonological conditioning of the nom.pl.neut. endings thus appears to have been morphologized, with much analogical reshuffling of the neut.pl. endings amongst the originally distinct stem types. The gradual loss of the rule of apocope in lOE is confirmed by the emergence of heavy-stemmed neuter monosyllables with an inflected nom.pl., e.g. *wordu*, see §§3.50–1. Under these circumstances, nom.pl. forms such as *werod* 'troops' would have to have been specially marked to show that they did not take *-u*, and hence the existence of some LWS spellings of the type *werodu*, as at ÆHom 18.405, is unsurprising, since this would be a regularization of the form from a synchronic point of view. Alternatively, it may be simply that in LWS *-u* was added in the nom.acc.pl. to disyllabic stems ending in sonorants but not those ending in other consonants, the only very regular exception being *hēafod*. Two final factors in the loss of any role of *u*-apocope must have been, firstly, the replacement of *-u* by *-a* as the regular inflexion for the neut.nom.pl., and, secondly, the existence of phonologically regular *-u* after a long syllable in old *ja*-stems such as *wītu* 'punishments', see §3.34, and fem. nouns bearing the reflex of the PGmc suffix **-iþō*, e.g. *mǣrðo* 'glory', *yrmþu* 'poverty', see §3.98.

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[1] Only by assuming that the stem of *wæter* is underlyingly monosyllabic can Bermúdez-Otero and Hogg (2003: 11–12) account for the failure of apocope in LWS on a phonological basis, as avoidance of a word-final cluster with rising sonority (***wætr*).

III *a*-declension

3.73 This declension is the chief declension for feminine nouns in OE and consists exclusively of such nouns. The principal source of its membership is the historical *ō*-stem class, including the *jō*- and *wō*-stems, to which may be added the fem. *i*-stems.[1] Unlike the nouns of the *as*-declension, these nouns regularly have distinct nom. and acc. forms, particularly in the sg., see §3.80 on differentiation in the plural.

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[1] Some other nouns, for example historical *u*-stems, may migrate to this declension. These nouns, which form only a small minority of examples, will be examined at relevant points in the discussion below.

1 *Inflexions*

3.74 In LWS the set of inflexions which was attached to the stems of *a*-declension nouns was as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	-u/-Ø	-a
Acc.	-e	-a
Gen.	-e	-a
Dat.	-e	-um

3.75 The above set of inflexions is inherited from the inflexions of the simple *ō*-stems (§§2.35ff.). In the singular, LWS generally shows little departure from the above set of inflexions, but two variations should be noted. Firstly, light-stemmed nouns such as *ġifu* 'gift', *lufu* 'love',[1] *racu* 'narrative', *sagu* 'tale', *talu* 'tale', all show occasional examples of extension of *-u* throughout the singular, e.g. ÆHomM 1.233 *ġifu*, HomU47.87 *lufu*, ÆLet4.138 *racu*, ÆLet4.1022 *sagu*, ÆAdmon1 4.44 *talu*.[2] Secondly, in a small number of idiomatic constructions, as noted by Brunner (1965: §252A1),[3] nouns of this declension may occur with the gen.sg. ending of the *as*-declension. The most common, but still infrequent, instances of this occur with *help* 'help', particularly in constructions with *biddan* 'pray', e.g. *helpes biddende*, but also in N_{GEN}+N constructions, e.g. Seasons 20.134 *helpes tīd*, and in co-ordination with an *as*-declension noun, e.g. HomU 38.7 *helpes and rǣdes*. Other examples are more isolated, e.g. HomU 26.257 *ādles grānung*, HomU 27.101 *sybbes lufu*. These do not need to be analysed as shifts in gender, but rather as examples of a tendency to generalize *-es* as the marker of gen.sg. in all nouns, see also §3.78 for the situation in Nbr.[4] In the plural the endings of §3.74 are regular for nom.acc. in LWS, see §2.40 and references therein for the situation in EWS. In the gen.pl., although *-a* remains regular, there is a tendency, not displayed in Ælfrician texts but more common in poetry, for the consonantal inflexion *-ena* to be introduced, usually without metrical consequence, but cf. GenA 2936 *ġifena drihten*. This is especially frequent with light stems, e.g. *ġifena* 'gift', but can very occasionally be found with heavy stems, e.g. Beo 269 *lārena* 'advice' alongside 1220 *lāra*. As in other declensions, see §3.9, late texts show occasional examples of dat.pl. in *-an*, e.g. AldV 1.882 *ċeastran* 'cities'.

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[1] In WS, *lufu* generally declines as an *a*-declension noun, but there is a minority of forms from the *an*-declension, most notably in the dat.sg. In Angl it declines as a member of the *an*-declension, cf. Got *brōþru-lubō* 'brotherly love', and PsGl(A) even retains the nom.sg. of that declension, i.e. *lufe*, see further §3.106.

[2] All these examples except that of *lufu* (which is dat.sg.) are acc.sg.; we have not noted any examples of *-u* for the gen.sg. in LWS, and this absence is probably not accidental.

[3] See also Sandred (1991: 3–4).

[4] Such is the argument of Jones (1988); see also Millar (2002a).

3.76 It has already been noted that in EWS, nouns with the suffix *-ung/ -ing* form a special case, for in these nouns, but especially those with the suffix *-ung*, the sg. inflexion for all the oblique cases is often *-a*, which may be due to harmonic assimilation of the inflexional vowel to the suffixal vowel, see §2.41 and Dahl (1938: 141–3). Although variation between *-a* and *-e* can also be found in Ælfrician texts, e.g. ÆLS(Eugenia) 112 *lēasunga* 'lie' dat.sg., ÆLS(Ash Wed) 250 *lēasunge* dat.sg., our impression is that *-e* is more strongly preferred to *-a* in these texts than in EWS.[1]

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[1] If this is correct, the reasons for the changed tendency are not immediately obvious. It may simply be a product of standardization associated with the *Schriftsprache*.

3.77 A further variation in inflexion characterizes historical fem. *i*-stems. These nouns regularly become members of the *a*-declension, and if they are light-stemmed they pattern identically to the other nouns of this declension, as with *denu* 'valley', *fremu* 'benefit', see further §2.66. However, in the instance of heavy-stemmed fem. *i*-stems, when they are restructured as *a*-declension nouns they may in the acc.sg. either retain the Ø-inflexion characteristic of the heavy *i*-stems or adopt the inflexions of the new declension. Hence there arises variation between, e.g., *dǣd* and *dǣde* 'deed' acc.sg. It seems plain that this variation did not arise much before the ninth century, since the earliest example of *-e* adduced by Dahl (1938: 170) is the Kt Ch 1200.4 *Cyneðrȳðe* pers.name which may be dated to *c*.867–70.[1] In Alfredian texts, however, the morphological change is quite well established, and inflected forms outnumber uninflected in the ratio 3 : 2, and even in the slightly earlier Merc PsGl(A) inflected forms account for over one-third of the examples, see Dahl (1938: 167–71) for both the data and the statistics. In the texts of Ælfric, however, the morphological change is carried through with even more rigour, and uninflected forms such as ÆCHom I, 58.16 *brȳd* 'bride' acc.sg. are in a clear minority.

[1] Note, however, that Beo has a single example of *-e* at 889 *dǣde* required by the poetic metre. This is probably unhelpful in dating either the morphological change or the poem's composition. But it is possible that *dǣde* in this instance is plural.

3.78 The situation in Nbr is much less plain than in LWS, and it is also necessary to distinguish between the paradigms of light and heavy stems of the *a*-declension. In the instance of light stems the nom.acc.dat.sg. all most frequently show *-o*, which varies with *-u*, *-a*. It is uncertain what exactly this variation represents, but it seems possible that these case forms have fallen together and that the observable vowel variation is due to confusion amongst unstressed back vowels,[1] see Hogg (1992c: 120–1), also Bately (1980: xliv) for possible supporting evidence even from EWS. In the plural, *-o* predominates in the nom.acc., but there are also occasional forms in *-a*, *-e*.[2] The gen.pl. is regularly *-a*, whilst the dat.pl. is *-um*. In heavy stems, the normal form of the acc.dat.sg. is either -Ø or *-e*, although *-a* also occurs. The -Ø inflexion in the acc.sg. may have spread from the nom.sg. of such nouns and then been extended to the dat.sg. The plural of heavy stems largely follows the pattern of the light stems.[3] A particular characteristic of NNbr is the widespread use of *-es* as the marker of the gen.sg., such forms greatly outnumbering instances with *-e* or, in nouns with the suffix *-ung*, *-a*. This is not to be taken as a shift in gender, but rather the generalization of the *-es* inflexion outside the original *as*-declension, cf. §3.75. The same is not true of SNbr, where the only secure example is MkGl(Ru) 10.25 *nēdles* 'needle', against usual *-e*.[4]

[1] Pure syncretism can hardly be the sole cause, given that this does not happen throughout the declensional system. But pressure towards syncretism may be reinforced by the collapse of differences amongst unstressed vowels. Ross (1937: 61–3) gives a number of other possible explanations, but he states that "discussion is unprofitable owing to the number of different explanations possible"!

[2] In Nbr, *-o* may well be a borrowing from the *an*-declension, where *-o* is regular, see §3.108.

[3] Particularly remarkable, however, are a few examples in Li of the inflexion *-as*, as in *ebolsungas* ‘blasphemies’ nom.acc.pl. and similar (6×). This appears to be particularly a property of nouns in *-ung*. Two such forms are found in Ru2, namely *feorðungas* ‘farthings’, *smēunges* ‘inquiries’, but these may be due to influence from Li.

[4] MkGl(Ru) 13.19 *costunges* ‘tribulation(s)’ is ambiguous: Lindelöf (1901: 108) points out that the Li Lat text has *tribulationis*, which resembles a gen. sg., whilst the Ru2 Lat text has normal nom.pl. *tribulationes*. The gloss *costunges* thus may be intended to represent either gen.sg. or nom.pl.

3.79 The most significant characteristic of Merc texts is that the nom.acc.pl. is either exclusively, as in the instance of PsGl(A), or predominantly, as in the instance of Ru1, *-e*.[1] Other points of note include the regular use of *-e* for the gen.sg. even in nouns with the suffix *-ung*, and the absence of forms with gen.sg. *-es*. Note also that Ru1 has *-e* in the nom.sg. forms *endunge* ‘ending’ (2×), *ġēmunge* ‘wedding’.

[1] The contrary examples in Ru1 appear to be restricted to MtGl *wǣda* ‘clothes’ and *culfra* ‘doves’, although the latter could be an *an*-declension form, since the noun varies.

3.80 In Kt, although the most usual form of the nom.acc.pl. is *-a*, OccGl 49 regularly has *-e* for the acc.pl., thus 1140 *andlifene* ‘food’, 1178 *lāre* ‘teachings’, 874 *speċċe* ‘words’, distinguished from the nom.pl. as in 175 *ġiofa* ‘gifts’, *saca* ‘disputes’. But since the same text has *-e* for expected *-u* in the nom.sg., e.g. 648 *ġefe* ‘gift’, it may be that these forms simply show merger of unstressed vowels.

2 *Allomorphic variation*

3.81 The basic paradigm of the *a*-declension is exemplified by a light-stemmed noun such as *ġifu* ‘gift’, in which the inflexions of §3.74 are added directly to the stem without variation in either stem or inflexion,[1] hence LWS:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	ġifu *gift*	ġifa
Acc.	ġife	ġifa
Gen.	ġife	ġifa
Dat	ġife	ġifum

The same situation holds for the other dialects, with appropriate adjustments in inflexional shape.

[1] In fact, even for *ġifu* this is not necessarily true, see further §§3.86–7. It is remarkably difficult to find relatively high-frequency words of this declension which are not

subject to some form of allomorphic variation, especially since heavy-stemmed nouns are subject to *u*-apocope, see §3.95.

3.82 As with the *as*-declension, cf. §3.13, there are many allomorphic variations which apply to nouns of this declension. Most of these variations are similar to those of the *as*-declension, although they may have different outcomes. But there are also some variations which are peculiar to the *a*-declension. The variations may be categorized as follows, in similar fashion to the variations in the *as*-declension:

(i) variations which are the result of earlier sound changes, in particular the following: restoration of *ă̆*; palatalization; back umlaut; loss of [h]; final devoicing; see §§3.83–9;
(ii) variations which, although often in part reflecting earlier sound changes, are the result of particular syllabic configurations: nouns with a stem-final geminate; nouns with *-w-* preceding the inflexion in oblique cases and the plural; *u*-apocope; see §§3.90–9;
(iii) variations in nouns which have a stem which either is historically disyllabic or contains a post-consonantal stem-final sonorant in the nom.sg., see §§3.100–4.

(a) Restoration of ă̆

3.83 Where an *a*-declension noun has stem-vowel /ɑ/ in the nom.sg., as in *cwalu* 'death', *faru* 'journey', *nafu* 'nave', *racu* 'narrative', *swaþu* 'track', *þracu* 'force', *wracu* 'pain',[1] then in WS we should expect an alternation between /æ/ in the oblique cases of the sg. and /ɑ/ everywhere else, due to the historical restoration of *ă̆*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.10–15).[2] But everywhere /ɑ/ is generalized throughout the paradigm, e.g. *faru* ~ *fare*, and forms with /æ/ are infrequent.[3] Such examples from early texts include BDS 1, LRid 13 *-faerae* 'journey', CP *wræce* 'pain' (4×), Beo 154 *sæce* 'strife'. In Ælfric there is a strong preference for forms with /ɑ/, e.g. *wrace*, although forms with /æ/ do occur, sometimes more frequently in other LWS texts.[4] The most plausible analysis of these data is that these nouns have undergone restructuring with /ɑ/ as the underlying root vowel throughout the paradigm, e.g. /fɑru/, /fɑre/, etc., and hence restoration of *ă̆* simply fails to apply.[5]

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[1] For the declension of *-waru* 'people', see §§2.70, 3.129.

[2] The situation would be somewhat different in other dialects, especially Angl, because of the different sets of inflexions added in each dialect. However, the principle, that /ɑ/ should appear before a back vowel, /æ/ before a front vowel, is the same in each dialect, and in fact each dialect behaves similarly with respect to this alternation. A major exception to this occurs in those Merc dialects which show second fronting, for which see §3.84.

[3] *Sċeadu* ‘shadow’, with <ea> throughout, is best explained as having diacritical <e>, see Hogg (1992b: §5.69) and further references therein, and is therefore to be viewed as having generalized /ɑ/.

[4] But some of these variations may simply be due to the weakness of the phonemic contrast between /æ/ and /ɑ/, see Hogg (1992b: §2.13).

[5] However, it is possible that /ɑ/ should always occur in stressed open syllables without regard to the quality of the following unstressed vowel and without any appeal to restructuring, see further the discussion in §4.23–4, Hogg (1996) and references therein. Such an account would also explain the variations in PsGl(A) described in §3.84.

3.84 An interesting exception to the description in §3.83 occurs in the dialect of PsGl(A). Here nouns of the above type show <e> in nom.acc.pl., where the inflexion is *-e*, thus *sweðe* ‘tracks’, *wrece* ‘punishments’ (both frequently). Forms with an inflexional back vowel are absent except PsGl(A) 93.1 *wreca* immediately beside *wręca*. It is difficult to determine exactly how to analyse these forms, but the starting point must be that second fronting occurred before any possible restructuring along the lines discussed in §3.83. There do not appear to be any relevant examples in Ru1 to show the later development in Merc.[1]

[1] The early glossaries have some forms which may be of relevance. Thus, alongside EpGl 625, CorpGl 1322 *nabae* ‘naves’, ErfGl has *nebae*. But the ErfGl spelling may be due to confusion with <æ>, see Pheifer (1974: §38).

(b) Palatalization

3.85 As elsewhere, cf. §§3.18–20, there should have occurred an alternation between stem-final /ɣ/ before a back vowel and palatal /j/ before a front vowel. This would result in, for example, LWS alternations such as *sorg* ‘sorrow’ nom.sg. ~ *sorġe* acc.sg. The extent to which this actually occurred is not, however, determinable given the nature of the written evidence. Certainly, analogy reduced the paradigm allomorphy in some words.[1] The same alternation between unpalatalized and palatalized /k/ would not have occurred, however, due to the absence of a directly adjacent /i/ in relevant examples.[2]

[1] For example, Beo 2468 *sorhge* dat.sg., also in Ælfric and elsewhere, must contain /ɣ/.

[2] Note here the contrast between the related forms *sacu* ‘strife’, without either palatalization or gemination but with restored /ɑ/, see §3.83, and *sæċċ* ‘strife’, with both palatalization and gemination and with the stem vowel /æ/. The latter is historically a *jō*-stem, the former an *ō*-stem.

(c) Back umlaut

3.86 The historical change of back umlaut, whereby short front vowels diphthongized before a back vowel in the following syllable, see Hogg

(1992b: §§5.103ff.), should have caused an alternation between <i, e> and <io, eo> according to the nature of the inflexional vowel. Amongst commonly occurring nouns of this declension only *ġifu* 'gift' is potentially subject to this alternation. In WS, however, this would not occur because of the prior sound change of palatal diphthongization, see ibid.: §5.112. Hence we find in *ġifu* an unaltered stem vowel throughout the paradigm.[1]

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[1] There is the variant spelling *ġyfu*, but this is a typical LWS variation which is not related to the structure of the paradigm, see Hogg (1992b: §5.167). The Angl type *ġeofu(m)*, with back umlaut, occurs in non-Ælfrician LWS.

3.87 In other dialects there is a somewhat variable pattern for this noun, but with a strong tendency to preserve the alternations induced by back umlaut. In the PsGl(A) dialect of Merc the alternations appear to be carried through regularly, hence nom.sg. *ġeofu* ~ nom.pl. *ġefe*, with the single exception of 44.13 *ġefum* dat.pl. alongside 25.10 *ġeofum*. In Ru1 the recorded form for nom.acc.dat.sg. is always *ġeofu*, which points, apparently, to an indeclinable singular, perhaps influenced by a generalization of the back-umlauted stem vowel in the nom. In Nbr, Li shows a variety of forms, sometimes with back umlaut preserved, sometimes with the change levelled away, but never with extension of the umlaut to forms with inflexional *-e*.[1] In Ru2, although there is much variation in the forms of the inflexions, the patterning of the alternation due to back umlaut appears to be phonological. In Kt the phonological alternations are also usually preserved.[2]

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[1] On the other hand, DurRitGl appears entirely regular except for 4.11 *ġeafæ* gen.sg. (alongside *ġefes*), where umlaut has been so extended.

[2] Note, however, extension of the diphthong in Ch 1508.49 *ġeofe* acc.pl.

(d) Loss of [h] and final devoicing

3.88 The only *a*-declension nouns which potentially show stem variation due to intervocalic loss of [h] are the rarely fem. *slōh* 'mire' and *lēah* 'open land'. For the former we find only acc.dat. *slō* in Ch 738, with loss of [h] intervocalically before the inflexion, which is then lost in hiatus. For the latter, similar forms are found in charters alongside forms with <g>, e.g. Ch 264 (Ct 3) †*lēage* (2×), on which see §3.31.[1]

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[1] Kitson (1990: 203) reports that in charters the most frequent form of the acc.sg. is *lēah*.

3.89 In heavy-stemmed nouns with final /ɣ/ in the nom.sg., in particular *sorg* 'sorrow', LWS texts usually show devoicing, i.e. *sorh*, but the voiced fricative is retained in inflected forms, e.g. *sorġe*. Although both *sorg* and *sorh* are common in poetry, devoiced forms appear to be absent from Angl, thus DurRitGl 1 84.12 *orsorg* ‘free from care’, see also Hogg (1992b: §7.63).

(e) Geminate consonants

3.90 The primary source of stems with final geminate consonants in the *a*-declension is the group of originally light-stemmed *jō*-stems such as *synn* ‘sin’, see §§2.45ff. and, for other sources, §3.91. These nouns should pattern exactly as *ġifu*, §3.81, except that in the nom.sg. *u*-apocope occurs, see §3.96n1. But from the time of EWS onwards, the historical process of degemination began to affect such nouns in exactly the same manner as for *as*-declension nouns of the same type, e.g. *hyll*, *cynn*, see §3.39, so that final geminate consonants shortened, and an alternation arose between a single word-final consonant in the nom.sg., e.g. *syn*, and a geminate consonant in inflected forms, e.g. *synna*. As with *as*-declension nouns, nom.sg. forms with a single consonant such as *syn* or *hel* ‘hell’ remain in a minority in Ælfrician texts, but there is a sufficiency of such forms to suggest that the representation of degemination was hindered only by orthographic convention. As with *as*-declension nouns, in Nbr the geminate consonants are regularly retained, see §3.39.

3.91 A large number of *a*-declension nouns were formed with the suffixes *-ness*, *-enn*, *-ess*, *-ett*, e.g. *forġifness*, *þē̆owenn* ‘maidservant’, *hæġtess* ‘witch’, *hyrnet* ‘hornet’, see §2.47 for further examples and discussion of their historical origins. The expectation would be that, as with the monosyllabic nouns of §3.90, there would, by the time of LWS, be an alternation between single consonants in the nom.sg. and geminate consonants in inflected forms. However, each of these suffixes appears to behave in a slightly different manner, as discussed immediately below.

(1) The suffix *-ness*, regularly in LWS *-nyss*, most frequently has a distribution in LWS parallel to the monosyllabic nouns discussed in §3.90, although ungeminated forms are probably more frequent in the nom.sg. of these nouns than the corresponding monosyllables.[1] Oddly, perhaps, this is a more conservative distribution than in EWS, where the regular form of the nom.sg. is *-nes*, and *-ness* is relatively infrequent, see Cosijn (1886: §18). In EWS, Or 58.10 *heardsǣlnesse* ‘misfortune’ and perhaps CP 237.23 *biliwitnesse* ‘simplicity’[2] show nom.sg. in *-e*. Although similar forms can be seen occasionally in LWS, they do not appear to occur in Ælfric. However, in Nbr (Li, DurRitGl, Ru2) the normal form of the nom.sg. is *-nisse*. Whatever the origin of this use of *-e*,[3] it is clear and significant that the result is that the nouns are invariant in the singular, in which they mostly appear. Elsewhere there are parallel examples with *-e* in a minority of forms in both Ru1 and

PsGl(A). On the form of the stem to which *-nes* is attached, see Suzuki (1990), and see further §6.90.

(2) Where the suffix is *-enn*, the final geminate is regularly degeminated, and indeed this change is often extended to inflected forms, e.g. ÆLS (Julian and Basilissa) 134 *gydena* 'female gods'. For the relatively infrequent examples of retention of the geminate in the nom.sg., see §2.47(2). Even in Nbr, cf. §3.90, occasional degeminated forms can be found, e.g. MtGl(Li) 11.30 *byrðen* 'burden'. For variation in the form of the nom.sg. of these nouns, see §3.102n1.

(3) Nouns with the suffix *-ess* most frequently show a single consonant throughout their paradigm, although occasional geminate forms do occur, in particular with forms of *hæġtes(s)* 'witch'. For the special Nbr forms of *cnēoris* 'race', which is otherwise unexceptional, see §3.93n4.

(4) The relatively few nouns with the suffix *-ett*, e.g. *hyrnet* 'hornet', usually display the expected alternation between degeminated nom.sg. and forms with geminate consonant in inflected cases. For variation in the form of the nom.sg., see §3.102n1.

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[1] For example, both *sōðfæstnys* and *sōðfæstnyss* occur 7× in ÆCHom I&II.

[2] But as Cosijn (1886: §18) points out, *biliwitnesse* occurs immediately after the same form as an acc.sg., and the nom. in *-e* could therefore be taken as a scribal error.

[3] Lindelöf (1890: 107) suggests that *-e* is transferred from the oblique cases, and this seems much more plausible than the suggestion by Ross (1937: 71–3) that the nom.sg. is a neuter *ja*-stem inflexion, cf. *wīte* 'punishment'. Even more unlikely is the possibility, not suggested by Ross, that the inflexion is from fem. nouns of the *an*-declension, for the paradigm of those nouns in Nbr goes against this.

(f) Stem-final /w/

3.92 All nouns in this category are historical *wō*-stems, and their regular development would give, in the case of light stems, inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg., e.g. *sinu* 'sinew', and in all other cases except the dat.pl. /w/ would precede the inflexion, e.g. nom.pl. *sinwa*. In the dat.pl., /w/ should have been lost before /u/, but it is regularly restored, e.g. *sinwum*. Heavy stems of the same origin would differ only in that nom.sg. *-u* would be subject to apocope, hence *lǣs* 'pasture' ~ pl. *lǣswa*. The most obvious synchronic analysis of such nouns is that the stem contains an underlying final /w/, e.g. /sinw/, /læːsw/, and that there is a rule which vocalizes the /w/ finally, any historical rule which deleted /w/ before /u/ having been lost. Cf. §3.42n2.

3.93 There is, however, considerable pressure to restructure these nouns so that their paradigms become identical to that of other *a*-declension nouns.[1] In this restructuring, the final *-u* of the nom.sg. is reinterpreted as belonging to the inflexion rather than the stem, and hence we find inflected forms without *-w-*, e.g. *sine*, *sina*. The same occurs with heavy stems, although there final *-u* is apocopated, see firstly §3.95, hence nom.sg. *lǣs*, pl. *lǣsa*. Such forms can occur quite early, thus Ch 332 *mēda* (*c*.863) 'pastures' and, in a place-name,[2] Ch 328 *-mēda*.[3] In Ælfric the behaviour of these nouns is variable. In the instance of light-stemmed nouns, forms without *-w-* seem to be preferred, hence regular *sina* 'sinews',[4] but in the heavy stems both the older and the newer forms appear, hence both *lǣswa* and *lǣsa*.[5] The difference in treatment of light and heavy stems may be due to the identification of final *-u* in the nom.sg. of light stems with the nom.sg. inflexion, which would be impossible in the heavy stems.[6] Sometimes these nouns develop an epenthetic vowel before /w/. This is particularly frequent with forms of *sċeadu* 'shade, shadow', infl. *sċeaduwe*, *-a*, but similar forms can be found with most other nouns of this type.

[1] In their analysis of these nouns, Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976: 549) assume that the oldest form of the paradigm of the heavy stems showed nom.sg. *lǣs*, and thence absence of *-w-* spread to inflected forms, and that there was then a later development which changed *lǣs* to **lǣsu*. But the latter form is not recorded. They do argue, however, that these nouns all come to share the paradigm of the other *a*-declension nouns, although they fail to note the distinction between light and heavy stems discussed below.

[2] And therefore perhaps less indicative, although the two charters are related.

[3] Or 52.3 *mǣd* acc.sg. has in addition Ø-inflexion, see §3.77.

[4] To be included amongst the light stems of this type is Nbr *cnēureso* 'race', see §3.91(3) for the noun elsewhere. This noun is usually indeclinable in the sg. in Nbr except for gen.sg. of the type *cnēureses*, cf. §3.78. A very few forms show retention of *-w-*, e.g. MtGl(Li) *cnēuresua* (3×) beside *cnēuresa* (1×) in the same verse.

[5] Also to be grouped here are the original *i*-stems *ǣ* 'law' and *sǣ* 'sea' (also masc., chiefly in Angl and poetry) < **aiwi-*, **saiwi-*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.8). *Ǣ* is usually invariable except in the rare gen.pl. *ǣa*, whilst the same is true for fem. forms of *sǣ*. The dat.pl. *sǣm* (4× in Beo, 2× each in Ex and GuthA,B) is more probably masc. than fem., although it is impossible to be certain, cf. §3.135. The inflected masc. forms are gen.sg. *sǣs*, nom.acc.pl. *sǣs*. But alongside these forms there can be found forms with *-w-*, hence nom.sg. *ǣw*, gen.dat.sg. *ǣwe*, *sǣwe*, dat.pl. *ǣwum*, *sǣwum*.

[6] That is, if *sinu* was regarded as parallel to *ġifu*, the expected stem would be *sin-*, not *sinw-*. A similar analogy could have affected *lǣs(w-)*, but there would not have been as compelling a reason to identify this with the *ō*-stems as there was in the case of light-stemmed nouns that had *-u* in the nom.sg.; hence the analogy is not carried through as regularly in *lǣs(w-)*.

3.94 In nouns in which *-w-* was immediately preceded by a vowel, it had been lost in the nom.sg. and dat.pl., but it was retained elsewhere. However, in such cases the nouns are regularly restructured with /w/ throughout the paradigm, hence *stōw* 'place' nom.sg., *stōwum* dat.pl. alongside, for example, *stōwe*, *stōwa*. This restructuring means that these nouns have the same paradigm as a heavy-stemmed noun such as *lār*. Other nouns like *stōw* include *hrēow* 'penitence', *trēow* 'faith'.[1] Where the root vowel was in Gmc

*/a/, as in **klawu* 'claw', **þrawu* 'affliction', the regular development would give **clēa*,[2] *þrēa*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.19(1)) for details. But in other forms of the paradigm, where /w/ remained historically, the regular development would be to *clawe*, *þrawe*, etc., see ibid.: §§5.10–13. Both nouns are restructured in OE, although in opposite directions. For the former, the nom.sg. is restructured as *clawu*, e.g. at ÆGram 55.11, with regular oblique forms such as *clawe*. For the latter the nom.sg. is retained as *þrēa*, that form being used for all cases except dat.pl.,[3] where the usual form is *þrēam*, beside Dan 293 *þrēaum*.[4] Not surprisingly, there are for both nouns variant forms showing the opposite regularization. Thus we find in non-Ælfrician LWS Alex 468 *clēa* nom.pl., PPs 68.31 *clēo*, Alex 473 *clēum* dat.pl.,[5] MCharm 12.7 *clēa* dat.sg., and in Merc PsGl(A) 68.31 *clēa* acc.pl.[6] In the case of *þrēa* the early Merc glossaries show nom.sg. parallel to *clawu* in EpGl 53 *thrauu*, CorpGl 200 *thrauuo*.

[1] To these can be added the historical ō-stem noun **brū* 'eyebrow' (apparently not recorded in nom.sg.), which in late glossaries usually has nom.pl. *brūwa* rather than *brūa* (found only at AntGl 4.988), also dat.pl. *brūwum* (beside DurRitGl2 181.6 *brūum*). It seems most probable that the glide has been inserted in hiatus, see Campbell (1977: §589.2), and that the noun may then have been reinterpreted as a regular *a*-declension noun like *stōw*, although Rid40 *brūna* gen.pl. may speak against this.

[2] The form is not recorded in OE for the nom.sg.; for *clēa* used in other parts of the paradigm, see further below.

[3] But there also occurs occasionally an *n*-stem form *þrēan*, cf. §3.113.

[4] Although a monosyllable is possible in this verse, it would produce a rare and questionable verse type (Sievers's type B3), and thus it may be the poetic metre that motivated retention of the disyllabic spelling.

[5] Also †*clēam*, see Toller (1921: **clawu**).

[6] On Phoen 276 *clām*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.143&n1).

(g) Apocope

3.95 In nouns of the *a*-declension, the only form in which apocope can occur is the nom.sg., where the expected inflexion is *-u*. Naturally, such apocope should occur only after heavy stems, so that the application of apocope will result in a contrast between light-stemmed nouns with *-u* in the nom.sg., e.g. *ġifu* 'gift', *talu* 'tale', and heavy-stemmed nouns with -Ø in the nom.sg., e.g. *lār* 'learning', *wund* 'wound'.[1]

[1] Feminine hypocoristic names of this declension retain final *-u* even after a heavy syllable, hence LVD 45 †*Bettu*, 46 †*Beonnu*. It is more probable that this is a stereotyped structure than that such pet names arose only after the period of *u*-apocope.

3.96 Although the variation described in §3.95 is highly regular, there are several groups of nouns which display surface forms of the nom.sg. which either are historically unexpected or appear to be synchronic violations of *u*-apocope. These nouns can be classified into the following types: (a) historical *jō*-stems with a heavy stem, e.g. *ġyrd* 'rod';[1] (b) nouns formed with the Gmc suffix **-iþō*, e.g. *strengþu* 'strength'; (c) historical **īn*-stems which had transferred at an early stage to the *ō*-stems, see §2.88, e.g. *yldu* 'old age'. These cases are discussed below in §§3.97–9.

[1] Historical *jō*-stems with a light stem, e.g. *synn* 'sin', appear to have undergone the same type of development as the nom.pl. of the neut *as*-declension type exemplified by *cynn* 'nations', for which see the discussion in Hogg (1992b: §6.25).

3.97 If historical *jō*-stems with a heavy stem in Gmc had a nom.sg. ending in **-ij-ō*, then the regular historical development of that form would presumably have been to *-u*, hence, for example, **ȝardijō* > ***ġyrdu* in parallel to the neut.nom.pl. type *wītu* 'punishments', see §3.34. In order to derive the actual forms, which always show Ø-inflexion, it would at first seem necessary to assume, with Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976: 546–7), that absence of the inflexion in the nom.sg. is due to transferral to the *ō*-stems, with which the expected paradigm of the noun is otherwise identical. However, Gothic shows a contrast in the nom.sg. of light and heavy stems of the form *sibja* 'relationship' ~ *bandi* 'band', with *-i* as the marker of the nom.sg. in the heavy stems.[1] If the form of the nom.sg. in late PGmc were indeed **ȝardī*, then *ġyrd* would be the expected nom.sg.[2] In all the other cases, **-ij-* before the vocalic inflexion might have been reduced to **-j-* by syncope, which would then, as usual, be lost after the heavy syllable, leaving the stem followed by the normal *ō*-stem inflexion.[3]

[1] The exact origin of *-i* (< PIE **-ī*) is uncertain, see Bammesberger (1990a: 101) for some discussion. It is notable that in OE this development is restricted to nouns and is not found with fem. adjectives, e.g. *wildu* 'wild', which shows the regular development of **-ijō*. Campbell's suggestion (1977: §645) that in such adjectives **-ī* was regular and **-ijō* analogical is not obviously correct.

[2] The earliest forms of OHG heavy-stemmed *jō*-stems have nom.sg. in *-e*, < **-i*, though this may be analogical to the other cases, and there is some reason to think that the endingless nom.sg. found in polysyllables, showing apocope of the original ending, is the oldest type, see Braune (1987: §209A2&3).

[3] Conflicting views on these developments are discussed in Fulk (2010c). Cf. Brunner (1965: §257A1), Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976: 547). In addition to the reservations discussed above with respect to Kiparsky and O'Neil's analysis, it should be noted that they are obliged to assume an unsubstantiated earlier stage with final *-u*, i.e. **ġierdu*.

3.98 Nouns formed with the suffix **-iþō* should, if the first syllable is heavy, develop regularly into OE with a syncopated medial vowel and, in their nom.sg., an unapocopated inflexional *-u*. The result of syncope is that the historical form of the nom.sg. represents a surface violation of the rule of apocope, with final *-u* now after a heavy syllable, e.g. *strengþu* ‘strength’. Yet even in EWS, forms of the nom.sg. in *-þu* are entirely unattested, and we find only forms without *-u*, e.g. CP 283 *slǣwð* ‘sloth’ (3×), though the incidence is small, with just three other examples, see Cosijn (1886: 26). In Ælfric, nom.sg. forms likewise appear to be always uninflected, see further Pope (1967–8: 183). Phonologically, however, forms in *-u*/*-o* must originally have been proper to the nom.sg. when **-iþō* followed a heavy syllable, as indicated both by forms outside of EWS and Ælfric, e.g. *fǣhþo* ‘feud’ in poetry, and by the analogical extension of *-u*/*-o* to cases other than the nom.sg., as discussed below. It seems quite probable that the surface violation of *-u* after a heavy syllable has caused reanalysis of these nouns so that the underlying form of the stem is monosyllabic, e.g. /strengθ/, and that apocope is then applied as normal. In the instance of such nouns with a light initial syllable, syncope did not appear historically, but apocope should have occurred after two light syllables, see §2.37. However, even in these cases syncopated and apocopated forms are regular, e.g. *frymþ* ‘beginning’, demonstrating even more plainly the nature of the restructuring.[1] Some texts show an alternative solution to the irregularity of the nom.sg. by extending the form of the nom.sg. to other parts of the paradigm. This is particularly true of the Merc PsGl(A), which has, for example, acc.gen.dat.sg. *ēbylðu* ‘anger’, *ermðu* ‘poverty’, *lǣððu* ‘hatred’, identical in shape to 68.25 *ēbylġðu* nom.sg., whilst EWS CP and Or both have similar forms for the nom.acc.pl., see further Dahl (1938: 144–6).[2] On the historical development of nouns in **-iþō,* see further §2.37.

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[1] Note that in all cases the root vowel, which is historically the result of *i*-umlaut, must be supposed to be the synchronic underlying vowel, since the structure for the operation of *i*-umlaut no longer exists.

[2] The extension of *-u* to the oblique cases is not infrequently attributed to the influence of stems in *-īn-*, see §2.88. But Bammesberger (1975) shows the implausibility of this and argues for influence in the opposite direction. Cf. Ringe (2002: 149&n42).

3.99 Although historical *īn*-stems are assumed to have merged with *iþō*-stems in their development towards OE, see §§2.88–90, it is noticeable that they appear to be more resistant to the apocope of *-u* than the *iþō*-stems discussed in §3.98. Thus, of the monosyllabic nouns in this group only *yld* ‘age’ regularly shows loss of *-u* in Ælfric, although other nouns do show the same loss occasionally, see §2.90. Even more resistant to the change are disyllabic nouns of the appropriate structure; thus, *meni(ġ)u* ‘crowd’ appears never to be Ø-inflected. On the other hand, if these nouns retain *-u* in the nom.sg., they can frequently extend that inflexion throughout the singular. Since most of these nouns are always singular, see §2.89, this means that they have become invariable in inflexion.

(*h*) *Disyllabic nouns*

3.100 In general, disyllabic nouns of the *a*-declension do not give rise to the same complexity of variation as do the comparable nouns of the *as*-declension, cf. §§3.56–72. Regardless of the historical origins of these nouns, from a synchronic point of view the primary distinction between the various so-called disyllabic nouns of this declension lies in whether the first syllable is light or heavy. There are three principal sub-types of nouns with an initial light syllable, and these seem to be exactly the same as those suggested for the similar disyllabic nouns of the *as*-declension discussed in §3.68. Each of these types is considered separately in §§3.101–3. Disyllabic nouns with a heavy first syllable are discussed in §3.104.

3.101 The first type to be considered is the group of nouns in which the second syllable begins and ends in an obstruent, including the following: *duguþ* 'host', *efes* 'eaves', *ġeoguþ* 'youth'. In inflected forms, such nouns do not show syncope after a light syllable, e.g. *duguþe*,[1] but they do have *u*-apocope in the nom.sg. after two light syllables and are thus entirely regular. It must be assumed that WS *æx* 'axe' is from **acas*- with historical syncope of medial /a/, which results in restructuring of the noun as a monosyllabic stem.[2] PsGl(A) *æcesum* dat.pl. and similar Merc forms are regularly derived from an alternative source **acus*-, and Nbr *acas* may be from that same source, see Hogg (1992b: §6.15n3).

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[1] But note Rid 49.10 *dugþum*.

[2] Historically, *lifer* 'liver' (§3.102), *sāwol* 'soul' (§3.104) have the same syncope, but their later history differs because of the different sequence of consonants which arises.

3.102 Nouns of the second type, with a light first syllable followed by a syllable that begins with an obstruent and ends with a sonorant, include: *netel* 'nettle', *spinel* 'spindle', *feter* 'fetter', *lifer* 'liver', *feþer* 'feather', *sweġer* 'mother-in-law', *byden* 'barrel', *lyġen* 'lie'.[1] The virtually exceptionless appearance of disyllabic forms without -*u* in the nom.sg. suggests that the stems are underlyingly disyllabic whether this is historically the case, as with *netel*, *spinel*, *feter*, *lifer*, *byden*, *lyġen*, or not, as with the remaining forms cited above.[2] In order to derive an inflected form such as dat.pl. *fetrum*, we must suppose that there is a rule of syncope which deletes the medial vowel before a liquid. This rule must be optional, because in inflected forms syncopated and unsyncopated variants co-exist.[3] This type of noun appears to be identical in structure to the type (ii) disyllabic nouns of the *as*-declension discussed in §3.68. It is therefore instructive to note that in the fem. nouns there is no failure to apocopate final -*u* of the nom.sg., whereas in the *as*-declension neuter nouns the failure to apocopate final -*u* of the nom.pl. is regular. This speaks for the loss of apocope as a phonological rule in LWS, see §3.72.

[1] Campbell (1977: §589(5); see also Bammesberger, 1990a: 148) includes in this group *bisen* 'example', but Orm's *bisne* and the cognate ON *býsn* show that the correct form is *bȳs(e)n* (as the *DOE* has it), and it thus belongs with the nouns discussed in §3.104. See Kluge (1882: 535).

[2] A single exception is ClGl 1.2788 *eġenu* 'chaff', although it is difficult to know how much significance should be attached to this example. The early glossaries in particular also show *-u* after the suffix *-ett*, e.g. EpGl 718 *aelbitu* (= *ylfetu*) 'swan', ErfGl 275 *hirnitu* 'hornet', with which should be compared LWS ÆGl 307.5 *ylfette*, with the form of a fem. *an*-declension noun, and AntGl 2.614 *hyrnet* without *-u*. On the other hand, ÆCHom II 13.56 *mynečenu* 'nun' is the phonologically predicted form if degemination is assumed.

[3] There does not appear to be any significant distinction between words with and without an historical vowel in the second syllable. Thus, from *feter* with an historical vowel the *DOEC* has *fetrum* (2×), *(-)feterum* (8×), whilst without an historical vowel there occurs *feþrum* (14×), *(-)feþerum* (11×). The lack of significant distributional differences and the co-occurrence of disyllabic and trisyllabic inflected variants in both types suggest strongly that they had fallen together in lOE.

3.103 Nouns of the third type, in which the first syllable is light and the second begins and ends with a sonorant, include: *cyl(e)n* 'kiln', *eln* 'ell'. Such nouns appear to be directly parallel to those in §3.102, except that the nom.sg. forms, insofar as they are recorded,[1] fluctuate between monosyllabic and disyllabic structures. Although this may be the result of syncope of an historical medial vowel, it seems probable that it has led to synchronic restructuring of these nouns as having an underlying monosyllabic stem, and therefore they would be distinguished from the second type, discussed in §3.102.

[1] *Eln* occurs only in this shape, see Hogg (1992b: §6.68&n2).

3.104 Nouns which, if the stem is disyllabic, have a heavy first syllable include: *ādl* 'disease', *nǣdl* 'needle', *sāwl* 'soul', *bȳsn* 'example',[1] *ċeaster* 'city', *frōfor* 'comfort', *wōcor* 'increase'. All of these stems are monosyllabic in origin except for *sāwl*, cf. Got *saiwala*. The difference is maintained in lOE, since *ādl* and *nǣdl* show epenthesis in neither inflected nor uninflected forms,[2] whilst *sāwl* is frequently written with a vowel before <l>: Ælfric strongly prefers *sāwul*, as does the Merc PsGl(A); similarly, Nbr texts usually have *sāwel* (or similar spellings), but *sāul* occurs not infrequently. Thus, *ādl*, *nǣdl* appear to have monosyllabic stems in lOE, whereas *sāwl* is underlyingly disyllabic. Unlike /l/, however, after an obstruent a final /r/ is always syllabic, see §3.65. Thus, as with similar nouns of the *as*-declension, the words *ċeaster*, *frōfor*, *wōcor* appear to have been re-formed as disyllabic stems, with optional syncope in inflected cases. Absence of inflexional *-u* in the nom.sg. is therefore etymologically correct in all these words, though *sāwl* presents certain difficulties.[3]

[1] Originally an *i*-stem, like Got *anabūsns* 'command', from PIE **-bhuHt-sni-z*, see Kluge (1926: §147b). What led Campbell to regard this as a disyllabic stem with a light first syllable, see §3.102n1, was most likely Nbr forms like Li *bissena*, *biseno* acc.pl. (The word is partly neut. in Nbr.) To be sure, the Nbr forms are difficult to account for, but the evidence of ON *býsn* and of *bisne* in the *Ormulum* (see §3.102n1), as well as the fact that OE *bȳsn* is attested three times without syllabified *n*, forbids interpretation of the word outside of Nbr as *bisen*.

[2] On non-syllabic /l/ after obstruents, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.40) and §3.71n1 above. Note, however, that *ādl* is metrically disyllabic at GuthB 978, 1064.

[3] We should expect early syncope of PGmc **-a-* followed by apocope, hence **saiwalō* > **sāwlu* > *sāwl*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.15). The metrical evidence, however, points to a disyllabic uninflected form from an early date, see Fulk (1992: §98n55), and, as noted above, the orthographic evidence plainly indicates a distinction between monosyllabic *ādl*, *nǣdl* and disyllabic *sāwul*. Perhaps the labiovelar quality of /w/ combined with the presumably velar quality of /l/ to produce early, exceptional epenthesis of /u/ before /l/ after apocope had applied. But the status of syncope and apocope in **saiwalō* is uncertain, cf. §3.64.

IV *an*-declension

3.105 This declension includes nouns of all three genders, though neut. nouns of the declension are rare. The chief source of its membership is the historical *n*-stem class. For the commonest nouns of this type, see §2.81. Both early and late loanwords continued to be added to the class. Thus, examples of masc. *an*-declension nouns that come from Lat nouns of the second declension are basilisca 'basilisk', *cristalla* 'crystal', whilst masc. examples that come from Lat fem. nouns of the first declension are *glōria* 'hymn of praise', *crisma* 'chrism', and masc. examples from Lat masc. nouns of the first declension are *pāpa* 'pope', *cometa* 'comet'. Examples of fem. *an*-declension nouns that come from Lat fem. nouns of the first declension are *murre* 'myrrh', *albe* 'alb', whilst fem. examples from Lat neuters in *-ium* are *centaurie* 'centaury', *marubie* 'horehound'. Masc. *assa* 'he-ass' and *āncora* 'anchorite'[1] appear to derive from Old Irish masculine nouns.

[1] The initial vowel appears to be long: the word is never spelt with initial *o*, and Old Irish *ánchara* has a long vowel.

1 *Inflexions*

3.106 In LWS the set of inflexions which was attached to the stems of *an*-declension nouns with consonantal stems was as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	-a (masc.); -e (fem., neut.)	-an
Acc.	-an (masc., fem.); -e (neut.)	-an
Gen.	-an	-ena
Dat.	-an	-um

On the inflexion of nouns of the *an*-declension with vocalic stems, see §§3.110–15. Fem. nouns of the *an*-declension with light stems frequently show parallel forms inflected according to the *a*-declension in WS, e.g. consistent *lufu*, though *an*-declension forms of the oblique cases occur; Ru1 has once nom.sg. *lufu*; otherwise, Merc forms are always of the *an*-declension and Nbr forms ambiguous, see §3.108 and Hogg (1997b: 100–1). Other WS forms like this are *ċinu* 'chink', *faðu* 'paternal aunt', *peru* 'pear',[1] *spadu* 'spade', *wucu* 'week' beside forms with inflexions of the *an*-declension.

[1] From Lat *pirus* 'pear tree'.

3.107 The above set of inflexions, which in LWS is for the most part stable, is inherited from the inflexions of the *n*-stems (§§2.78ff.). Occasionally -*on* replaces -*an*, e.g. ÆLS (Agnes) 153, Gen 48.10 *ēagon* 'eyes' nom.pl., PsGl(J) 134.17 *ēaron* 'ears' nom.pl., see Hogg (1992b: §6.60). Such forms are met with occasionally already in EWS, e.g. LawAf 1.32, ChronA 797.1 *tungon* 'tongue' acc.dat.sg. (On the other hand, -*on* is organic in *ēastron* 'Easter' nom.acc.pl., see §2.87.) Similarly, in the gen. pl., -*ona*, -*ana* occur infrequently for -*ena*, e.g. HomM 5.383 *ēagona*, PsGl(D, G, H, I) *ēagana* 'eyes', EWS CP 465.16, Bo 7.17.7 *welona* 'prosperities'; as the examples show, the variation is usually attributable to dissimilation from the root vowel, see ibid.: §6.64. The gen.pl. inflexion may also be reduced to -*na* by syncope when an allowable consonant cluster results, as with Lch II (14×) *ēagna* 'eyes', JDayI 23 *brōgna* 'terrors'. This reduction is commonest in verse, but it is found occasionally already in EWS, e.g. CP (2×) *wilna* 'desires'. Very rarely do we find -*an* in the gen.pl.[1] A more significant alteration is of dat.pl. -*um* to -*an*, e.g. ÆCHom I, 4.211.150 *dracan* 'dragons', ÆLS (Maurice) 48 *ǣrendracan* 'messengers'. Examples of this development are to be found already in EWS, e.g. Or 87.14 *ǣrendracan*, CP 397.25 *ġesinhīwon* 'married couples'. Very likely this change is a phonological tendency abetted by analogical pressures within the paradigm, and the change then spread to other declensions, see §§3.9, 3.75.

[1] Hoad (1994) offers the examples Solil 1 35.16 *ēagan*, ByrM 1 (Baker/Lapidge) 2.3.111 *tīman*, among others.

3.108 In Nbr, the inflexions of the *an*-declension differ notably from those of the LWS paradigms, due chiefly to the loss of final /n/ after unstressed vowels, see Hogg (1992b: §7.99). As a consequence, *-a* is the commonest ending in most of those cases in which LWS has *-an*; yet *-u*, *-o*, *-a*, *-æ*, *-e* also occur, due to the merger of most unstressed vowels in lNbr, see firstly ibid.: §§6.59–62. In the nom.acc.pl, however, *-o* is by far the commonest ending in NNbr, and *-u* in SNbr.[1] Very possibly this *-u/o* reflects Pre-OE **-un* of the masc. and fem. acc.pl., extended to the nom. as well; extension in the opposite direction, of nom.pl. *-an* to the acc.pl., is what is found in WS, see §2.85. In that event, *-u/o* might be expected to serve as the commonest ending in the masc. and fem. acc.sg. also, as appears to be the case in eNbr, see §2.86; but whilst *-u/o* is not uncommon in the acc.sg. in lNbr, *-a* is most frequent. The inflexion is also most frequently *-a* in the masc. and fem. nom.sg., and thus original *-æ/e* has been displaced in the fem. nouns. In the plural, dat. *-um* is nearly universal, with just a few instances of *-om*.[2] In the gen.pl., etymological *-ana* predominates, with occasional variants *-ena*, *-una*, *-ano*, *-na*. The last of these appears to be etymologically correct in Li *oxna* 'oxen', see §2.87, but not in Li *hīġna* 'household'. In addition to these regular *an*-declension endings, masc. and fem. nouns may acquire endings of the *as*-declension: *-es* is the commonest ending by far for the gen.sg. in both masc. and fem. nouns, without indicating actual change of gender in the latter, see §§3.75, 3.78; similarly occasional *-as* in the nom.acc.pl. of both genders. The gen.pl. ending *-a* of the *as*-declension also occurs a few times; but the ending *-a* remains much commoner than *-e* in the dat.sg. of both masc. and fem. nouns. The neuters are more difficult to analyse. In Li, *ēgo* 'eye' is both neut. and fem., whilst the gender of *ēare* 'ear' is undeterminable. Both have expected *-um* in the dat.pl., but otherwise *ēgo* always ends in *-o*, except for one instance of acc.sg. *ēġe*; *ēare* otherwise ends in *-e* (2×, acc.dat.sg.) except in the nom.acc.pl., where it ends in *-o* (12×). There do not appear to be any significant differences between NNbr and SNbr in regard to the *an*-declension.

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[1] On nom.acc.pl. *exen*, *exin* 'oxen', see §2.87.

[2] Also *-num* in *oxnum* 'oxen', see §2.87.

3.109 In Merc, the inflexions of nouns of the *an*-declension in PsGl(A) closely resemble those of LWS. Once there occurs the archaic nom.sg.fem. ending *-æ* in *hraecae* 'throat'. On nom.pl. *oexen* (beside *oxan*), gen.pl. *oxna* 'oxen', see §2.87.[1] In Ru1, on the other hand, the inflexions of this declension resemble those found in Nbr. But beside the range of endings found in Nbr, Ru1 also not infrequently has *-an*, and not just where LWS has *-an* but also in some instances in the nom.sg. of all three genders, e.g. masc. *cuman* 'visitor'. Another dissimilarity to Nbr is that although *-u* sometimes appears in the nom.acc.pl. of masc. nouns, it is never found in feminines in the plural. There is also more variability in the inflexions of the neuters of this declension than in Nbr, e.g. acc.dat.sg. *ēġe* 'eye'.[2]

[1] Gen.pl. *wurðiġna* and dat.pl. *wurðiġnum* 'enclosures' are no longer generally analysed as showing transferral of syncopated *an*-declension endings to *as*-declension nouns, but as stem *wurðiġn-* plus inflexion, this stem being common in place-names.

[2] For details, see Brown (1891–2: II, §§65–7).

3.110 Certain masc. and fem. nouns of the *an*-declension, but no neuters, have stems that end in a vowel or a diphthong, for reasons that are explained in §§3.111–15. Under such circumstances, the initial vowel of the inflexions tabulated in §3.106 has historically contracted with the final vowel or diphthong of the stem, with such consequences for those vowels and diphthongs as are described in Hogg (1992b: §§5.131ff.). After contraction, metanalysis of the endings produced a set of inflexions that now began with, or consisted of, a nasal consonant, or if the inflexion contained no consonant at the time of contraction, resulted in zero-inflexion. The typical inflexions in LWS are thus as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
Nom.	-Ø	-n
Acc.	-n	-n
Gen.	-n	-na
Dat.	-n	-m

3.111 The expected LWS paradigms for nouns of this type thus would be as follows:

Singular			
Nom.	ġefā *enemy*	wēa *woe*	twēo *doubt*
Acc.	ġefān	wēan	twēon
Gen.	ġefān	wēan	twēon
Dat.	ġefān	wēan	twēon
Plural			
Nom.	ġefān	wēan	twēon
Acc.	ġefān	wēan	twēon
Gen.	ġefāna	wēana	twēona
Dat.	ġefām	wēam	twēom

None of these dat.pl. forms is actually attested, but other, similar ones are found, e.g. Wid 31, 58 *Swēom* 'Swedes'. Yet just as with some other vocalic stems, see §§2.31–2, 3.47, *-um* may be restored in the dat.pl. by analogy to the ending on consonantal stems, as with metrically ambiguous Rim 32 *frēaum* 'lords'.

3.112 As in respect to other nouns of this class, the inflexions added to these contracted stems in PsGl(A) resemble those found in LWS, whilst other Angl texts diverge notably from the WS pattern. The endings in PsGl(A) agree with those given in §3.110, the only remarkable point about such words being some unusual diphthongs, e.g. nom.sg. *lēa* 'lion' (4×) for expected *lēo* (1×), see Hogg (1992b: §5.139). Ru1 has only acc.sg. *gefēa* 'joy' and dat.sg. *sċua* 'shadow', and thus, once again, it resembles Nbr rather than PsGl(A). In Nbr, due to the loss of final nasal consonants, we should expect that gen.pl. *-na* would be the only consonantal inflexion preserved, though in fact no instance of a contracted *an*-declension noun is preserved in the gen.pl. in Nbr. Loss of *-m* in the dat.pl., however, is confirmed by Li *sċīu* 'shins'. The gen.sg. has only analogical *-s* (only *lēas* 'lion' is attested). Otherwise, nouns of this type generally end in a diphthong of which <a> is the second element, except that <ea> and <eo> are interchangeable in Ru2, see ibid.: §5.44. Notable also is nom.acc.pl. *hrāo* (beside *rā*) 'roe'; cf. *-u/-o* in the uncontracted nom.acc.pl., §3.108.

3.113 One source of the vocalic stems discussed in §§3.110–12 is forms in which /w/ was lost in WGmc before /u/, with subsequent vowel contraction, see Hogg (1992b: §3.19). Thus, for example, PGmc acc.sg. **frawunum* > **fraun-* > *frēan* 'lord'. In the course of this line of development, the contracted stem analogically replaced forms of the stem in which loss of /w/ would not have occurred, e.g. gen.pl. **frawanōm*, see §2.84. Like *frēa* in this respect are *wēa* 'woe' and occasional *an*-declension forms of *þrēa* 'affliction', i.e. *þrēan*, cf. §3.94.

3.114 Another, later and commoner source of the vocalic stems discussed in §§3.110–12 is forms in which vowel contraction occurred upon loss of intervocalic [h], see Hogg (1992b: §§5.131ff.). Thus, for example, **ʒifeaha* > *ġefēa* 'joy'. These nouns include *ēa* 'water',[1] *ġefā* 'enemy', *ġefēa* 'joy', *flēa* 'albugo',[2] *flēa* 'flea',[2] *rēo* 'blanket', *sēo* 'pupil of the eye', *slā* 'sloe',[3] *tā* 'toe',[4] *twēo* 'doubt', *þō* 'clay', and probably *cēo* 'crow'.[5]

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[1] Usually a root-stem, see §2.111&n8, but cf. *ēan* 'rivers' nom.pl. found in EWS, Ælfric and elsewhere.

[2] Also a neuter *a*-stem *flēah*.

[3] There also occurs a rare *ō*-stem *slāh*, though the form *slāg* that is frequently cited occurs only as the initial constituent of the compound *slāhþorn* 'black hawthorn'. The *ō*-stem is very likely a back-formation from this compound.

[4] There also occurs an *ō*-stem *tān*, derived from the oblique cases of this. Cf. WS *tā* 'twig', §3.115.

[5] Probably from **cȳhæ*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.42), hence without palatalization of *c*.

3.115 The final source of the vocalic stems discussed in §§3.110–12, at least in WS, and in part in PsGl(A), is forms in which hiatus between a stem-final vowel and an inflexional vowel has been lost to vowel contraction, see Hogg

(1992b: §§5.136ff.). Words of this type include *bēo* 'bee', pl. *ċīan* 'gills', *dā* 'doe', *flā* 'arrow',[1] *lēo* 'lion',[2] *sċīa* 'shin',[3] pl. *Swēon* 'Swedes', *tā* 'twig'.[1] Of unknown derivation, possibly to be grouped here, is *pīe*, *pēo* 'sort of insect'.

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[1] Due to back-formation from *flān*, *tān*, with perception of *-n* as inflexional rather than stem-final; cf. ON *fleinn* 'dart', Got *tains* 'branch'.

[2] From Lat.

[3] Angl only.

2 *Allomorphic variation*

3.116 There is relatively little variation of an allomorphic nature amongst stems of the *an*-declension. WS tolerates very little paradigmatic allomorphy resulting from back umlaut. Thus, for example, *weolan* 'riches' occurs occasionally in both Early and Late WS (never in Ælfric), but *welan* is the usual form. Back umlaut is more pervasive in Angl, but even there it is hardly regular: thus, for example, in PsGl(A), the umlauted stem *ondwleot-* 'face' appears 21 times, the non-umlauted *ondwlit-* 5 times, though the inflexion always contains a back vowel, this being a masc. noun; in Li this stem is only *ondwlit(t)-* (7×); in DurRitGl (2×) and Ru1 (7×) it is only *andwliot-*. In fem. nouns there might be expected variation due to the restoration of *ā̆*, since the nom.sg. inflexion is *-e*, whilst all other inflexions contain a back vowel; usually /ɑ/ is extended throughout, e.g. *hrace* 'throat', *faðe* 'paternal aunt', *nihtegale* 'nightingale', but cf. ErfGl 1.715 *hræca* 'throat'. Likewise *hacele* 'cloak' always has <a>, except in syncopated Li MtGl 5.40 *hæcla* 'cloak' acc.sg.; but there is always <æ> in *ðæcele*, *fæcele* 'torch' and related forms. Alternation between *hīġan* and *hīwan* 'family', *mūga* and *mūwa* 'heap', is due to Verner's Law, see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(3)).

V Minor declensions

1 *Minor* a*-plurals*

3.117 This small declension consists almost entirely of historical *u*-stems such as *sunu* 'son', *hand* 'hand', see §2.73 for a fuller list of examples, and so their paradigm in LWS remains unaltered from the EWS paradigm presented in §2.72, repeated here for convenience:

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Light	**Heavy**	**Light**	**Heavy**
Nom.	sunu	hand	suna	handa
Acc.	sunu	hand	suna	handa
Gen.	suna	hand	suna	handa
Dat.	suna	hand	sunum	handum

3.118 The only allomorphic variation of significance is the variation between -Ø and -*u* in the nom.sg., which could be analysed as due to the operation of the synchronic rule of *u*-apocope that applies within the paradigms of nouns of other declensions, most relevantly in the nom.sg. of the fem. *a*-declension, see §§3.95ff.[1] The supposition that *u*-apocope applies synchronically necessarily implies that light- and heavy-stemmed nouns of this type belonged synchronically to the same declension, and that the inflexional forms in this declension were not merely stereotyped relics of the older stem class.

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[1] But apocope seems to have been lost from the declension of disyllabic nouns of the *a*-declension, at least in LWS and NNbr, see §3.72. Yet it is of course possible that apocope survived in other declensional classes as a phonological rule with lexically marked exceptions.

3.119 In LWS the degree to which the historical *u*-stems remain as *a*-plurals appears to be lexically dependent, varying from lexical item to item. In particular, the most frequent *u*-stem, namely *sunu* 'son', seems most resistant to class transfer. Furthermore, it is often difficult to determine whether or not fem. nouns have transferred to the *a*-declension, since the plural inflexions would have remained unaltered. The general details are as follows:

(1) The commonest light-stemmed masc. nouns, *sunu* 'son', *wudu* 'wood', most usually retain their historical inflexions in Ælfrician texts, but there are occasional examples of nom.acc.sg. *suna*, *wuda*. This may be due either to merger of unstressed vowels or to the nouns' having become indeclinable,[1] although it is likely that the latter would be no more than a consequence of the former. The better Ælfrician texts do not show any signs of these nouns' having adopted the inflexions of the *an*-declension, a development which becomes strongly characteristic of later texts, especially charters, see further §3.141.[2] There is insufficient evidence to establish the behaviour of the other nouns of this type, but note that AldV has *medewes* 'mead' gen.sg. and *medewa* nom.pl.,[3] with which compare an *as*-declension noun such as *bearu* 'grove', see §3.42.

(2) Of the heavy-stemmed masc. nouns, all show at least some examples of transfer to other declensions, and in Ælfric the following at least appear to have been transferred regularly to the *as*-declension: *eard* 'country', *færeld* 'journey',[4] *feld* 'field', *flōd* 'flood',[5] *hād* 'person'. Only *æppel* 'apple' and *winter* 'winter' appear to retain the historical inflexions on a regular basis, although note frequent *æpples* gen.sg., and later texts often have *winter* neut.nom.pl. of the *as*-declension.[6] The evidence for the behaviour of the remaining nouns of this type in Ælfrician texts is either completely lacking or insufficient.[7] The most frequently retained historical inflexion appears to be the dat.sg. in -*a*, e.g. *felda* commonly alongside

felde,[8] but this may simply reflect a merger of the two unstressed vowels. Although transfer to the *as*-declension is clearly the dominant pattern in Ælfric, this is not true of later texts such as charters, where these nouns very often display the inflexions of the *an*-declension.

(3) For the two light-stemmed fem. nouns, Ælfric appears to retain the historical inflexions for both *duru* 'door' and *nosu* 'nose', although since the inflexions of the plural would remain unchanged if these nouns had transferred to the *a*-declension, and since there is evidence elsewhere, cf. *felde*/*felda* dat.sg. in (2) above, that *-e* and *-a* may have fallen together, it is difficult to determine the significance of this beyond the nom.acc.sg. There are some very rare forms which might indicate that *duru* could (partially) transfer to the mutation plurals on the analogy of *hnutu* 'nut', see §2.73n7, especially BenR 70.5 *dyre* dat.sg. and ÆLS (Pr Moses) 324 *dyran* nom.pl., the latter apparently with both mutated /y/ and the inflexion of an *an*-declension noun.[9] But the forms often cited from PsGl(K), e.g. *dyru*, are better interpreted as the result of scribal confusion, see Sisam and Sisam (1959: §49), and it may be best to regard all forms with medial <y> as suspicious.

(4) The most frequently occurring heavy-stemmed fem. noun is *hand* 'hand', which in Ælfric generally retains the historical inflexions, in so far as they can be distinguished from the inflexions of the *a*-declension. ÆLS has 4 examples of dat.sg. in *-e*, cf. comparable forms above. Similarly, the dat.sg. of *flōr* 'floor' fluctuates between usual *flōre* and less frequent *flōra*.

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[1] Except, of course, in the dat.pl., where inflexional *-um* is stereotyped.

[2] Note also ÆCHom II 11.109.578 *wudas* acc.pl., also found rarely in other texts such as GD(C) and PsGl(B,C,D,E).

[3] Campbell (1977: §614n1) suggests that *medewa* should be read as *medewas*.

[4] Both masc. and neut.

[5] In Ælfric, *flōd* is regularly neut., although elsewhere it is most usually masc.

[6] By an obvious semantic analogy, *sumor* 'summer' is often attracted to this declension in parallel to *winter*. Ru2 has *wintru* (3×), which is not wholly expected if it is nom.pl., see §3.65. The form could be gen.pl., although this is less probable given both the Latin text and the OE syntactic tendencies, on which see Mitchell (1985: §548).

[7] However, Campbell (1977: §613) cites the following EWS forms: gen.sg.masc. *æples*, *eardes*, *hādes*, *wintres*, dat.sg.masc. *earde*, *flōde*, *hāde*, *sumere*, *wealde*, nom.acc.pl. *æpplas*, *heargas*, dat.sg.fem. *dure*, *nose*; also, with confusion of back vowels, acc.sg. *wuda*, dat.sg. *duru*. See also §2.73.

[8] Ælfric has once the *an*-declensional form ÆLS (Vincent) 237 *feldan* dat.sg.

[9] There are also occasional examples of *duran* with the same inflexion, cf. the comments under (2) above.

3.120 In Nbr the situation is broadly parallel to that in LWS, and only a few traces remain of the historical system. Of the nouns which remain and which are well attested, it is notable that *sunu* 'son' is invariant in DurRitGl[1] and that although there is variation in Li between *sunu* and *suno*, the latter preferred in the pl., such variation is unlikely to have been significant. The noun *winter*, which is probably underlyingly monosyllabic, see §3.72, has nom.acc.pl. *wintru*, *-o* alongside *winter*, the latter DurRitGl only, which forms are not easily to be explained, given the usual treatment of such plurals in NNbr, see §3.67. The fem. *duru* is in NNbr mostly *duru*, but in SNbr *dura*, these variations probably due to varying representations of the same unstressed vowel, whilst the few examples of *hond*[2] are ambiguous as to their import.

[1] Excluded here and in what follows below is any discussion of the dat.pl.

[2] On the Nbr form of *hand*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.5).

3.121 In Merc, only *sunu* consistently follows the historically expected paradigm, and even there, Ru1 has examples showing transfer to the *as*-declension, notably MtGl(Ru) 26.37 *sunas*, 21.28 *sunes* both acc.pl., note also 27.56 *sunena*. The pattern here is therefore not significantly different from elsewhere.[1]

[1] The little evidence provided by the later Kt texts suggests that here, too, almost all examples had transferred to other declensions, although examples such as OccGl 49.281 *dure* gen.sg. could merely show reduction of the inflexional vowel.

2 *Mutation plurals*

3.122 This declension, principally composed of historical root-stems, see §§2.109ff., consists of a small number of nouns generally of high frequency. In LWS the paradigm of heavy stems of this declension generally remains unaltered from the EWS paradigm presented in §2.110, repeated here for the sake of convenience:[1]

	Masculine	**Feminine**
Singular		
Nom.	fōt *foot*	bōc *book*
Acc.	fōt	bōc
Gen.	fōtes	bēċ
Dat.	fēt	bēċ
Plural		
Nom.	fēt	bēċ
Acc.	fēt	bēċ
Gen.	fōta	bōca
Dat.	fōtum	bōcum

In addition to these historical root-stems, the masc. monosyllabic *nd*-stems *fēond* 'enemy', *frēond* 'friend' most frequently follow the paradigm of *fōt*.[2]

[1] For the paradigm of light stems, see the discussion in §3.124.

[2] But not, as far as can be ascertained, the far less frequent *tēond* 'accuser', see §2.106&n1. It is presumably significant that only the high-frequency nouns conform to this declension, since such nouns can more easily tolerate apparent irregularity.

3.123 Although it is plain that there is an alternation between an unumlauted vowel in the nom.acc.sg., gen.sg., and gen.dat.pl. and an umlauted vowel in the remainder of the paradigm of these nouns,[1] it is dubitable whether this alternation could have been governed synchronically in LWS by a phonologically conditioned rule of *i*-umlaut, though this has often been the assumption in generative approaches to OE phonology.[2] In particular, it should be noted that in heavy stems the presence of an umlaut vowel correlates closely with the absence of any overt inflexional suffix. If, therefore, there were a synchronic phonological rule of *i*-umlaut, it would be necessary to propose an underlying /i/ in all those forms in which there is no overt inflexion, except the nom.acc.sg. A non-phonological analysis of these nouns, on the other hand, would mark all uninflected oblique cases as subject to umlaut and palatalization, thus defining umlaut as a case/number marker where no other marker existed but would have been expected from the behaviour of other nominal paradigms.

[1] Exactly correlating with the presence of umlaut is the presence of a palatalized velar where this is appropriate. That correlation is entirely expected, since the historical */i/ which caused umlaut would also have caused palatalization.

[2] Amongst generative accounts it is not always possible to determine whether any given synchronic rule of *i*-umlaut is phonologically or morphologically conditioned (or some mixture of the two), since most such accounts do not deal directly with this group of nouns. It is, nevertheless, probably significant that the most explicit account, namely that of K.H. Wagner (1969: 265), proposes a purely phonological rule of umlaut, as does that of Erdmann (1974: 7). Other such discussions, such as that in Kiparsky and O'Neil (1976) or Dresher (1978), also propose a phonological rule of umlaut, but they do not discuss the present group of nouns, and therefore it is probable that they would extend the rule to the present group. Amongst introductory textbooks, Mitchell and Robinson (2006: §58) appear to assume a rule of *i*-umlaut, whilst Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §§48–9) are carefully noncommittal on the issue. Only the remarks of Pilch (1970: §17) can be plausibly interpreted as indicating that the rule of *i*-umlaut had in these nouns been morphologized. Umlaut in related modern Germanic languages, but not in Old English, has been discussed within the framework of Optimality Theory in Klein (2000) and Gibson and Ringen (2000).

3.124 The only direct phonological evidence for the existence of a purely phonological synchronic rule of *i*-umlaut comes from light-stemmed nouns of this declension, of which just three, all fem., are attested, namely *hnitu* 'nit', *hnutu* 'nut', *studu* 'post',[1] see §2.111.[2] These nouns, however, which are relatively infrequent, show considerable variation in form. Both *hnutu* and *studu* are regular in nom.sg., also the latter in acc.sg. (where the former is unattested), and as expected have unumlauted forms in gen.pl. *hnuta*, *studa*, dat.pl. *hnutum*, *studum*, whilst nom.acc.pl. *hnyte* shows the expected umlaut, as does nom.pl. *styde*, *styþeo* (both at Alex 8.21), as well as dat.sg. *-hnyte*, *styde*.[3] On the other hand, in the dat.sg. and, perhaps, gen.sg., see §2.113&n3, unumlauted forms of the type *stude* occur alongside umlauted forms, which may suggest that umlaut has been levelled away from the sg. and remains only as a marker of the nom.acc.pl. If that is so, it is difficult to see how the umlaut could be anything other than a purely morphological marker of number.[4]

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[1] *Studu* has a variant form with an intervocalic fricative, hence, e.g. *stuþe*, *stuðe* alongside *stude*. This variant form may be an exception to the regular WGmc occlusion of *[ð], see Hogg (1992b: §4.17).

[2] In such nouns the presence of inflexional *-e* in, for example, nom.pl. *hnyte* can apparently best be accounted for by the assumption that it is from an underlying /i/ which would cause *i*-umlaut (cf. nom.sg. *hnutu*) before being lowered to /e/ or, in the case of heavy stems, before being lost. The evidence afforded by *hnitu* is unhelpful, since its root vowel is plainly unaffected by *i*-umlaut, and therefore any variations in that noun are ignored, see rather §2.111n11.

[3] Note that dat.sg. *-hnyte* is found only in the compound *pīnhnyte* ‘pine-nut’ at Lch II 2.2.8.

[4] This, of course, would be a precursor of the situation in later periods of English.

3.125 If the suggestions in §3.124 with respect to light-stemmed nouns are correct, then it is logical to suppose that the heavy-stemmed nouns of the same type would gradually have lost any effect of phonological rules of *i*-umlaut and palatalization, and that these rules would have been replaced by purely morphological rules to account for the alternations. Such a shift would have encouraged the development of new inflexional forms which patterned according to more regular paradigms. For discussion of these forms, see the treatment of masc. nouns in §3.126 and fem. nouns in §3.127.

3.126 Amongst masc. nouns of this type there appears to be a continuum which develops with, at one end, *fēond* ‘enemy’ and, at the other, *tōð* ‘tooth’ and *fōt* ‘foot’, in that the former quite frequently acquires the inflexions of the *as*-declension, hence nom.acc.pl. *fēondas*, dat.sg. *fēonde*, whilst such forms are rare for both *tōð* and *fōt*. *Frēond* ‘friend’ lies somewhere between the two. It must be noted, however, that plurals of this sort in *-as* occur only in Anglian texts and Saxonized texts of Anglian origin, and in poetry.[1] The dative in *-e* is more widespread, though in Ælfrician texts even this is rare.[2] Note the thoroughness with which these changes have been carried through in the poetic portion of the Paris Psalter, of seemingly late Angl origin, which includes among its forms *fōtas* ‘feet’ (3×), 57.5 *tōðas* 'teeth', in addition to *fēondas*, *frēondas*.[3] The prose portion shows no such innovations. We may therefore assume that the historical inflexions, at least in WS, were largely preserved in these masc. nouns until very late in the period.

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[1] See Fulk (1992: §355(5)), with references. Because the plural in *-as* is an innovation, its use in poetry would appear to attest to the Anglian origins of most surviving verse, as the language of poetry is otherwise exceptionally conservative.

[2] The only instances are ÆCHom II 243.60, ÆHom 11.167 *fēonde* dat.sg. Thus, there appears to be some tendency for the replacement of umlauted forms by inflected forms to occur firstly in the dat.sg., cf. the situation with fem. nouns as described in §3.127. The historical gen.sg. had, of course, been replaced by the inflexion of the *as*-declension in prehistoric times, see §2.113.

[3] Note also Dream, which has consistently *fēondas* (3×), *frēondas*; also Phoen 311 *fōtas* and Phoen 407, Soul II, MSol 114 *tōðas*.

3.127 Amongst fem. nouns there appears to be a somewhat greater tendency to restructure than is the case for masc. nouns. Thus, amongst these nouns the following forms show restructuring without umlaut of the gen. or dat.sg.:[1] (a) gen.dat.sg. with inflexional *-e* from the *a*-declension: *āce* 'oak', *bōce* 'book', *burge* 'city'; (b) similarly in the gen.sg. only: *fūre* 'furrow',[2] *gāte* 'goat', *gōse* 'goose', *mūse* 'mouse';[3] (c) similarly in the dat.sg. only: *þrūġe* 'trough';[4] (d) in the dat.sg. but without inflexion: *āc*, *bōc*, *burg*, *furh*, *grūt* 'meal', *þrūh*, *þrūg*.[5] In the above words such restructuring may occur in a minority of total forms,[6] but in the further nouns *niht* 'night', *ēa* 'river' restructuring is normal, at least in LWS, see further §2.111.[7] In the case of *niht* 'night', restructuring in WS may be to either umlauted forms or unumlauted *neaht* (the latter, however, only in texts of Angl origin), whilst in Angl the usual form is unumlauted *næht*.[8] *Ēa* 'river' is usually unumlauted and uninflected except for dat.pl. *ēam*.[9] In the nom.acc.pl. there are many fewer forms which show restructuring, but Ælfric has regular *burga*, even though the usual dat.sg. is *byriġ*. Otherwise such forms appear to be rare,[10] and note in particular that nom.acc.pl. of *niht* 'night' is regularly uninflected. An unusual characteristic of these fem. nouns is that in a very few examples the *an*-declension gen.pl., see further below, is found together with an umlauted stem vowel; these include: Notes 2 17.102 *brēċena* (to *brōc* 'legging'), LkGl(Ru) 14.19 *cȳna* (to *cū* 'cow') and possibly Lch I 75.5 *gǣtena* (to *gāt*). These nouns may also, occasionally and mainly in late texts, acquire the inflexions of one or other of the major declensions, including the masc./neut. *as*-declension, e.g. *bōces* gen.sg., *bōcas* nom.acc.pl., *hnutena* gen.pl., cf. above.

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[1] The absence of examples of various words from the following types may often be due to no more than the relatively infrequent occurrence of the relevant items, rather than any systematic absence.

[2] From *furh* with loss of *h* between voiced sounds.

[3] Place-names of Celtic origin, e.g. *Cent* 'Kent', similarly show -*e* in the gen.sg. but are inflexionless elsewhere. This has led some writers, e.g. Brunner (1965: §284A7), Campbell (1977: §628.6), to classify them as fem. nouns of this declension. It might, however, be preferable to classify them as indeclinable except in the gen.(sg.), where they acquire the usual inflexion of fem. nouns.

[4] From *þrūh*, cf. ON *þró*. Thus, *h* should have been lost, but its restoration may have been effected by analogy to an alternation such as *bēah* ~ *bēaġe*, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.59ff.).

[5] *Þrūh*, *þrūg* is like *furh*, cf. n2.

[6] But the situation varies from noun to noun. In some cases, e.g. *gōs* 'goose', *mūs* 'mouse', restructuring appears to be the norm, whilst in others, especially *bōc* 'book', it is quite infrequent.

[7] *Cū* 'cow' is more complex, since all inflections should have been lost except in dat.pl. *cūm*; also gen.pl. *cūa*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.143). The mutated forms are retained in *cȳ* dat.sg., nom.acc.pl., but note PsGl(A) 67.27 *cȳe* acc.pl. with the usual Angl inflexion of the *a*-declension. Lch II 38.11.6 also has gen.sg. *cūe*.

[8] In Angl, PsGl(A) 18.2 has umlauted nom.sg. *neht*, dat.sg. *nehte*.

[9] But other forms can be found. Thus, EWS has gen.sg. *ēas*, and dat.sg. *ēae* is found in Bede and also Ru1. The dat.sg. forms *ēæ*, found at Chron(A) 896.8 and elsewhere, and *ēe*, found at Or 19.32 and elsewhere, could as well demonstrate orthographic confusion as some form of the dat.sg. in -*e*. For the plural form *ēan* of the *an*-declension, see §3.114.

[10] Campbell (1977: §628) cites Ch 587 (= Birch 945) *fūra* as acc.pl., but it could well be gen.pl., since this is the usual case governed by *andlang* in this charter (as well as elsewhere).

3 *Miscellanea*

3.128 There are a few further nouns which seem to form discrete but small paradigm sets of their own, in particular the masculine historical *i*-stems which refer to names of nationalities, e.g. *Engle* 'English', and the historical *r*-stem nouns of kinship, for example *mōdor* 'mother'. Although these nouns have, historically, morphological features which distinguish them from other nouns, it is worth noting that the set of nouns in each of these categories can be well defined in semantic terms, and it is most probable that their semantic homogeneity leads to their preservation as discrete morphological groups.

3.129 The masc. nouns of nationalities are discussed and exemplified in §2.70, which should be consulted for fuller details. In general these nouns retain throughout the period the declensional characteristics which they display in the earlier texts, although there is some evidence of the further extension of the gen.pl. inflexion -*ena*, as in, for example, AldV -*warena* 'inhabitants'. Since in the course of the period the other original *i*-stem nouns had transferred to the appropriate major declensions, these nouns must be interpreted as having developed into a minor irregular class of their own.

3.130 The five kinship nouns, namely *brōðor* 'brother', *dohtor* 'daughter', *fæder* 'father', *mōdor* 'mother' and *sweostor* 'sister', can be divided into three morphological types. The first type consists solely of *fæder*, which during the period gradually assumes all the inflexions of the *as*-declension, most reluctantly so in the gen.dat.sg., see §3.64n3 for a discussion of the various forms of this noun and dialectal variation. The second type consists solely of *sweostor*, which is characterized by zero-inflexion except in the gen.dat.pl., where it has the usual inflexions *-a*, *-um*.[1] The remaining three nouns pattern together, and the distinguishing characteristic of their inflexion in Ælfrician texts is that the nom.acc.pl. is regularly in *-a*, less commonly *-u*, and is never uninflected as is possible in earlier texts; hence we find *brōþra*, *-u*, *dohtra*, *-u*, *mōdra*, *-u*.[2] On the typical LWS variation between *-a* and *-u*, see firstly §3.9. It is notable that in Ælfric the *i*-umlauted dat.sg. forms *brēðer*, *dehter*, *mēder* persist and are not subject to analogical levelling,[3] but in lNbr and also lMerc, e.g. Ru1, umlauted forms are rare, in contrast to the earlier PsGl(A), where umlauted forms are found in both gen. and dat.sg.

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[1] On variant forms of *sweostor* and also the collective nouns *ġebrōþru* 'brethren', *ġesweostru* 'sisters', see §2.93n3.

[2] For the relatively infrequent nom.acc.pl.of *mōdor* Ælfric has only *mōdru*, see §2.91n2, but *mōdra* occurs elsewhere, and we may assume the same distribution of inflexions as for the other two words in this group.

[3] Presumably the *i*-umlaut is morphologically, rather than phonologically, conditioned. It is not plain how much importance should be attached to the value of the vowel of the final syllable, i.e. the variation between *-or* and *-er*. The evidence of Ælfric would suggest that this alternation is by this time a free orthographic variation without significance, which seems plausible in the light of the gradual merger of unstressed vowels.

3.131 A further group of nouns with particular morphological characteristics of their own is the disyllabic historical *nd*-stems, for example *hettend* 'enemy'. Historically, these nouns are characterized by Ø-inflexion in the nom.acc.pl. and the adjectival gen.pl. inflexion *-ra*, see §§2.105, 2.108 for details and discussion, although otherwise they have the same set of inflexions as masc. *as*-plural nouns. In LWS the tendency apparent already in EWS further to regularize the inflexional system of these nouns grows stronger, but this is coupled with extension of the adjectival *-r-* of the gen.pl. to the other plural forms, esp. nom.acc.pl. The consequence of this is that in Ælfric the most frequent nom.acc.pl. inflexion appears to be *-ras*, as in ÆCHom II 228.218 *lufiġendras* 'lovers', ÆLS (Auguries) 42 *wyrġendras* 'revilers', ÆHom 5 *biddendras* 'petitioners', and a few others. This inflexion is even commoner in some other late texts, such as AldV, where the dat.pl. inflexion is often *-rum*, as against Ælfric, who retains simple *-um*. By this late date, therefore, it would appear that these nouns have been reanalysed as regular *as*-plurals except that they have a double plural marking by virtue of medial -*r*-.

VI Gender and declension

3.132 A minority of nouns show during the period variation in gender and/or declension, and such variation may be either dialectally or diachronically conditioned, or it may even be a matter of apparently free variation. Variation which is principally a matter of gender is discussed in §§3.133–9 and changes which are primarily of declension in §§3.140–3.

1 Gender

3.133 In the discussion of variation in gender it is important to distinguish between two types of variation. The first of these is variation in grammatical gender, whereby, for example, a commonly masc. noun may in some circumstances, such as in a particular dialect, be fem. or neut. (but rarely all three). In the second type, variation is due to the competition of natural and grammatical gender and the gradual erosion of the historical system of gender. We deal with these two types of variation separately below and in the order presented here.[1]

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[1] There are two major secondary sources for discussion of the first type of variation, namely Fleischhacker (1889) and Kitson (1990). Kitson's study, which is based on charter material, is critically important for his assessment of dialect variation. Most of the data discussed below are taken from these sources, which must be consulted for further details. Additionally, Cosijn (1886) is invaluable for EWS.

3.134 Some variation in grammatical gender appears to be systematic, in that the variation applies to a definable subset of nouns, whilst other kinds of variation appear to occur in an isolated fashion. Amongst subsets of nouns which show variation in grammatical gender, the following two closely related types are particularly noteworthy:[1]

(1) Neut. *i*-stems with the prefix *ġe*-, which at least originally had a collective meaning, would appear to have been assigned their gender originally on the same basis as older Gmc collectives such as OE *yrfe* 'inheritance'. Examples of these nouns include: *ġebenn* 'proclamation', *ġedwyld* 'error', see §2.64 for further examples.

(2) Originally fem. *i*-stem collective nouns such as *ġehyġd* 'thought', *ġeþeaht* 'thought', see §2.67, often become neut. in parallel with the other collectives, perhaps in particular those mentioned in (1) above.

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[1] See Fleischhacker (1889) for details of these and other groups.

3.135 Nouns that are usually masculine which can be found in fem. or neut. forms include the following of particular interest, see Fleischhacker (1889), Kitson (1990) for further cases:[1]

dīċ 'ditch': Kitson (1990: 204–7) shows quite clearly that this noun is in Angl and the SE (Kt) masc.,[2] but in WS indeclinable fem., with dat.sg. *dīċ*, cf. §§2.12n3, 2.18n1.

ġylp 'pride': in EWS sometimes neut. (CP 3×) against more frequent masc. (CP 9×); in Ælfric it seems always masc., although some later texts show neut. forms;

heofon 'heaven': in EWS this word is masc., but in Ælfric and other, later texts it commonly appears as fem. and may also take the inflexions of the *an*-declension. The latter characteristic seems to demonstrate that the shift in gender is due to the parallel with *eorþe* 'earth', see Fleischhacker (1889: 251).

hyll 'hill': sometimes fem., esp. in WS, Merc charters, but masc. in Hwiccean. ÆCHom I 576.28 *of ǣlċere hylle* is also fem.

lēah 'open land': this is masc. in the central WS area, but it is fem. in Angl and also the South-East, see Kitson (1990: 203–4).

sǣ 'sea': almost always masc. in Angl and poetry, in EWS predominantly fem. (excepting Or, where it is more commonly masc.), and in Ælfric almost exclusively fem.[3]

seċġ 'sedge':[4] masc. in Lch, but neut. at ÆGr 69.16 *þis seċġ*.

wylle 'spring': Kitson (1990: 208–10) shows that in charters this noun can be either masc. or fem. and may belong to either a vocalic or a consonantal declension. It appears to be masc. in the south, i.e. in WS or Kt charters, but fem. in Merc. It is consonantal in Kt and WMidl, but the variation in declension seems to be independent of the gender variation.

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[1] We have excluded, for example, occasional contextual or idiosyncratic variations, such as GenA 1186 *seo sǣl* for usually masc. *sǣl* 'time'. On the unusual gender of certain nouns in Beo, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlv).

[2] The suggestion of Fleischhacker (1889) that it is more frequently masc. when it has the same signification as *weall*, even if true, seems irrelevant. See further §3.143.

[3] For details, see Fulk (1992: §355.2); also Kitson (2002: 485–6); on the fem. form at Beo 2394, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 244).

[4] Etymologically connected with *seċġ* 'sword' fem.

3.136 Nouns that are usually neuter which can be found expressing other genders include the following of particular interest, see also Fleischhacker (1889), Kitson (1990):

bæc 'back': this is generally neut. in literary texts and also in charters of the Thames Valley, but fem. in the South-East.[1]

ēþel 'land': almost always masc., but it is occasionally neut. in Bede, and cf. OFris. *ēthel* masc.&neut., OHG *uodil* masc., OSax *ôþil* of uncertain gender, ON *óðal* neut.

ġēar 'year': in EWS, although usually neut., it occurs as masc. in Or (2×) and also as both masc. and neut. in Ælfric, but more frequently neut. in other late texts.

hǣð 'heath': this noun appears to have been originally neut., but masc. forms become widespread, perhaps from WS.[2]

hlǣw 'burial mound': although probably neut. in origin, cf. Goth *hláiw*, it appears mainly in masc. and fem. forms, see Kitson (1990: 192–3) for the complex geography.

lof 'praise': almost always neut., but note Beo 1536 *longsumne lof*, which is masc.

wēsten 'desert': this noun is usually neut., but in EWS both CP and Or show fem. forms alongside neut. ones.[3]

[1] See further Kitson (1990: 199), also for the relation to *bæce* 'beck'.

[2] Kitson (1990: 195) shows that fem. gender is not recorded for this noun, against Fleischhacker (1889: 239), although fem. gender is normal for cognate forms in other Gmc languages.

[3] Note also PPs 77.52 *wēstenas* acc.pl., which suggests masc. gender.

3.137 Usually fem. nouns which can be found expressing other genders include the following of particular interest, see also Fleischhacker (1889), Kitson (1990):

ǣrist 'resurrection': although originally fem. and regularly so in EWS,[1] this noun is usually masc. or neut. in Ælfric, but it may also remain fem. both in Ælfric and other late texts.

ēow(o)d(e) 'flock of sheep': fem. in Ælfric, neut. in the Blickling homilies, the OE Bede, some saints' lives and poetry (i.e. Anglian-derived texts), according to Kitson (2002: 484).

flōr 'floor': usually fem., but it is masc. at Beo 725. Both genders are found in MHG, and ON *flór* is masc., suggesting that the variation is Gmc.

īġ 'island': although this is almost always fem., a group of charters centring on the south and central Midlands consistently show masc. gender, see Kitson (1990: 194) for a helpful map.

lyft 'sky': most commonly fem. (*i*-stem), but there are a number of neut. forms, as in ÆHex (4×)[2] and ByrtM. Infrequently the noun appears as masc. Cf. OSax *luft* masc. or fem., OHG *luft* masc. or fem., Got *luftus* masc. or fem. (*u*-stem), ON *loft* neut. (*a*-stem).[3]

wyrð 'farmstead': this has a distribution very similar to that of *īġ*, see above.

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[1] Note, however, CP(H) 363.3 *ǣrestes* gen.sg.

[2] But not, to our knowledge, in other Ælfrician texts.

[3] Bammesberger (1990a: 157) explains the variation in gender and stem type across the Gmc languages as due to the co-occurrence of a PGmc masc. stem in **-tu-* and a fem. in **-ti-*.

3.138 There are two pairs of cultural-religious nouns which show a probably non-productive type of natural gender. The first pair consists of *dryhten* 'lord' and *þēoden* 'prince'. These nouns were probably in origin fem., see §2.47&n3, but in OE they are always masc. Of more interest are *god* 'god' and *dēofol* 'devil'. The former is regularly masc., but in a variety of texts throughout the period not including Ælfric it sometimes appears as neut. in the plural, i.e., *godu*, *-a*, when referring to pagan gods, see §2.12n4. In Ælfric, *dēofol* is regularly masc. in the sg. but neut. in the plural, and this is also the case in many other texts.[1] Such usage would seem to be making a deliberate theological point, and it cannot be taken as part of any general shift to natural gender.

[1] But note that in *Solomon and Saturn* (Sol II, MSol, but not Sol I) *dēofol* is also neut. in the sg.; the pl. is not attested in these texts.

3.139 In lNbr the widespread extension of a variety of inflexions such as gen.sg. *-es*, nom.pl. *-as*, and plurals in *-o*, *-a* to declensions to which they were not organic led to a situation whereby gender distinction in nouns had generally been lost, and gender could be determined only by agreement relations within the noun phrase. A result of this is that many nouns appear to occur with unhistorical genders. This has led some writers, notably Ross (1937), to speak in particular of a process of 'neutralization', whereby nouns with asexual references but masc. or fem. grammatical gender begin to show neuter agreement. However, in a notable series of studies, Jones (1967a, 1967b, 1971, 1988) has shown that the situation is rather different, and that questions of case assignment and discourse marking are beginning to take over from gender agreement. In these circumstances the lNbr system must be seen not as a (partial) switch from grammatical to natural gender, but rather as the evolution of a different system of marking a variety of grammatical features which is permitted by the loss of distinctive gender markers but in which nevertheless the system of grammatical gender remains intact.[1]

[1] See also Mitchell (1985: §§66–8) and Peinovich (1979: 198–203) and, for examples parallel to the Nbr system in *Guthlac*, Roberts (1970). On occasional, but in part systematic, shifts to natural gender of the type in Judg 4.21 *seo wīfmann* and for anaphoric reference according to sex, see Mitchell (1985: §§69–71). On factors contributing to the eventual loss of grammatical gender from the language, see Markus (1988). On gender shifts in the transitional language of ChronE, see Pysz (2005), and more generally in Old English and early Middle English, Curzan (2003: esp. ch. 3).

2 *Declension*

3.140 In speaking of changes of declension it is important to recognize that this discussion is confined to instances in which nouns transfer from one of the declensions discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter to another of those declensions. There are, therefore, two important types of change which are not relevant here:

(a) When a noun shifts from, say, the *i*-stem class to either the *as*-declension or the *a*-declension according to gender, this is a consequence of the restructuring of the morphological system of OE which has been discussed extensively above and is not in the present sense a change of declensional affiliation.

(b) There is generalization of individual inflexions formerly particular to one declension across a wider range of declensions. Thus, for example, in lNbr[1] there is widespread use of gen.sg. *-es*, originally associated only with the *as*-declension, across nouns of all declensional types, but this is not indicative of a shift of any individual noun to the *as*-declension.[2] Other important examples of the generalization of inflexions include the spread of the *-ana*, *-ena* gen.pl. inflexion of the *an*-declension (see §§3.9, 3.75) and the spread of the late dat.pl. *-an* inflexion due to generalization in the *an*-declension (see §§3.9, 3.75, 3.107).

In the following brief sections, concerning only the commonest changes, we deal firstly with transfers from the minor declensions, then with transfers between the major declensions, and finally with transfers associated especially with late non-literary texts, in particular charters.

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[1] And sporadically in other dialects, see §3.75, also Sandred (1991: 3–4). As Sandred observes, outside of Nbr the change occurs primarily by analogy in paired terms, e.g. *tō mēdes* (fem.) by analogy to *tō lēanes* (neut.), both ‘as reward’, or in words that would otherwise bear no overt indication of case, e.g. *cūs* ‘cow’s’, *ēas* ‘river’s’, both fem.

[2] On the other hand, such usage is preliminary to later forms of English in which that same genitive or its historical descendant is regular for all nouns. The same is also true of the more sporadic use in lNbr of nom.pl. *-as*, which must be seen as a precursor of the situation in later English.

3.141 The masc. minor *a*-plural nouns *sunu* ‘son’, *wudu* ‘wood’ usually retain their historical inflexions, see §3.119(1), but in a variety of late texts, nom.pl. *sunan* from the *an*-declension occurs frequently, as does *sunena* gen.pl.[1] The evidence for *wudu* is less certain, but note that the late PsGl(K) has *wudan* gen.pl. 2×.[2] The very late texts PeriD and PsGl(K) also both have fem. *nosan* ‘nose’ acc.pl., and JDay II has *nosan* dat.sg.;[3] and there are several examples of *hand* ‘hand’ with inflexions of the *an*-declension in late texts. Some other shifts in and out of the *an*-declension are noted in §§3.113–15&nn.

[1] Chron(D) and Ru1 have nom.pl. *sunas* (2×, 1× respectively).

[2] There is a frequently occurring formula in charters *on wudan and on feldan*.

[3] But Beo 1892, 2803 <nosan> is to fem. *nōse* ‘promontory’ of the *an*-declension, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 221).

3.142 Examples of the transfer of mutation plurals to the *as*-declension and the *a*-declension, the choice being determined by gender, may be found in §§3.126–7, and discussion of a similar transfer of the historical *nd*-stems occurs at §3.131. Some light-stemmed nouns of the *an*-declension, in particular *lufu* ‘love’, transfer to the *a*-declension, see §§3.75n1. This shift, which is almost exclusively WS, is discussed in §3.106.

3.143 In late charters, *dīċ* ‘dike, ditch’ is sometimes transferred to the *an*-declension, usually with change of gender, but cf. Ch 272 (Birch 390) 2.23 *þǣre dīċan*. Cf. Ch 1026 (Finberg) 16, where *þām ealdan dīċ* (an endingless locative) occurs beside *ðǣre ealdan dīċ* (also endingless!). See further §§2.12, 3.135. Likewise fem. *bēċe* ‘beech’ is very often declined according to the *a*-declension, with change of gender. Other changes of declension are more sporadic, e.g. *brōc* declined alternately according to the *a*- and *an*-declensions in Ch 1034; but they are commoner in charters than in literary texts, suggesting that charters better reflect the actual state of the language late in the period than literary texts, on which point see Sandred (1991: 10).

VII Nominal compounding

3.144 In PGmc, dithematic nominal compounds were formed by combining two stems, the second always a nominal stem, the first a noun, adjective, or particle.[1] The first constituent was uninflected for case or number, e.g. **xwaitja-melwan* > OE *hwǣt-melu* ‘flour’, **ƀrūði-ġumōn* > *brȳd-guma* ‘bridegroom’.[2] Originally, the first constituent might be a bare consonant-stem, so that there was no connecting vowel between the constituents, as with **ƀrōþur-ƀanōn* > OE *brōðor-bana*; but at a later date non-vocalic stems were replaced by vocalic stems when they were used as initial constituents, e.g. in Got *mana-sēþs* ‘humankind’, cf. Got *n*-stem/root-stem *manna* ‘human’. The same method of compounding persisted into OE, though by then the stem-final vowel had in most instances been syncopated.[3] Eventually, however, there arose compounds in which the first constituent was inflected. *Dōmes-dæġ* ‘Doomsday’ is usually thought to be an example of such, though whether it was ever a true compound during the OE period is debatable, since syntax is not a wholly reliable indicator.[4] However, at least some place-names with inflected first constituents must have been compounds at a relatively early date, since anteconsonantal, constituent-final *-n-* of *an*-declension forms appears to have been lost on a phonological basis in Kentish, especially before *h*, e.g. in *Offa-hām*, from **Offan-hām*.[5]

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[1] Compounds containing three noun stems also occur, e.g. *wulf-hēafod-trēo* 'gallows', *eofor-hēafod-seġn* 'boar's head banner'. See Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 196).

[2] For details, see Carr (1939). For *ō*-stem first constituents, a stem in *-a-* was used, e.g. **þeuða-lanðan* > OE *þēod-land* 'country'.

[3] See Hogg (1992b: §6.21) on certain exceptions. The variable treatment of the *jō*-stem elements *hild(e)-*, *hell(e)-*, *sibb(e)-* in poetry is conditioned on a combination of morphological and metrical bases: see the discussion in Fulk (2007a: 304–14), with references.

[4] For discussion and references, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 322–3).

[5] See Sandred (1988). Likewise, Kniezsa (1984) discusses changes at the point of juncture, especially in place-names, in ChronE, e.g. vowel reduction and loss, epenthesis, and various consonant changes.

3.145 In true compounds, the constituents preceding the inflexion are free morphemes, whilst this is not so of derived compounds, e.g. *sibsum* 'peaceable', *æðeling* 'prince'. The difference is detectable phonologically: vowels in the second constituents of derived compounds are not infrequently treated the way unstressed vowels are treated, e.g. **burȝ-isl-* > *byrġels* 'tomb'; also *westward* alongside *westweard*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.7). In addition, derived compounds are treated differently in the metre of poetry, where derivational morphemes, unlike the latter constituents of true compounds in most verse types, may appear in metrical drops, e.g. GenA 1816 *flēah wærfæst wēan*, ChristC 1627 *þæt is drēamleas hūs*, GuthA 763 *þæt we wīsdom ā*. As the examples illustrate, even derivational morphemes that do not show phonological reduction may receive unstressed metrical treatment.[1] But true compounds could become lexicalized, often with similar results, e.g. *hlāford*, cf. PPs 104.17 *hlāf-wearde* 'lord'; *lāreow* alongside *lār-þēow* 'teacher'. When the initial constituent is not a free morpheme, generally there is no phonological reduction of the second, e.g. *ūðwita* 'prophet' and derived forms in *un-* 'not'. Such forms, nonetheless, are not treated metrically the way true compounds are: cf., e.g., GenA 30 *þe þone unrǣd ongan*, Dan 323 *þæt his unrīm ā*. Not all forms that might be analysed as true compounds, on the basis of the free status of the constituent morphemes, are so to be analysed, especially when one of the morphemes is not a major class word, e.g. compounds in *æt-*, *wiðer-*; also *-leas* and similar. Dithematic personal names, in particular, are like derived compounds, often with phonological changes in their second constituents characteristic of unstressed syllables, e.g. names in *-ferþ* (Angl *-friþ*) and *-werd*, *-ward* alongside *-weard*.[2] Regardless of whether or not they evince phonological reduction, they are generally treated metrically the way derived compounds are, e.g. Beo 457b *wine mīn Bēowulf*, 277 *iċ þæs Hrōðgar mæġ*, though there are also instances of stressed treatment of uninflected second constituents, e.g. Beo 396 *Hrōðgar ġesēon*, on which see Fulk (1992: §§210–11).

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[1] But derivational morphemes sometimes receive secondary stress, as well, e.g. in Beo 1720b *drēamleas ġebād*, 2680 *Næġling forbærst*. For discussion, see Fulk (1992: §§210–11), and cf. Russom (2001).

[2] The numismatic evidence of the mid-eleventh century is particularly plain in this regard: see Colman (1984: 126–36).

3.146 Non-inflexion of initial constituents, see §3.144, is not of itself sufficient to distinguish compounds from non-compounds, and in many instances the two cannot be differentiated conclusively. What appears to be an initial constituent may be simply a Ø-inflected word. Beo 1558, 2616, 2979 *eald-sweord* could be two words, but comparison to indubitable compounds like *gūðsweord*, *wǣġsweord* suggests a compound, an assumption supported by a small degree of metrical probability, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 323). The *DOE*, for example, does not regard *eald-sweord* as a compound, nor *eald-metod*, *eald-ġewinna*, but it admits a number of other compounds in *eald-*, including *ealdfæder*, *ealdġeseġen*, *ealdġesīð*, *ealdġestrēon*, *ealdġewyrht*, and *ealdhlāford*. In verse, on the basis of metre, an uninflected numeral must frequently be regarded as forming a compound with *hund* 'hundred', e.g. in GenA 1193 *and nigonhund ēac*, where *-hund* must receive no stress. Metre also tells in favour of regarding a numeral before *niht* 'night', and possibly *dæġ* 'day', as compounded, see §4.87n7. Whether an uninflected numeral before any other noun is to be regarded as compounded cannot be determined on the basis of metre.

3.147 Chiefly on the basis of the subsequent history of the language, it may be inferred that a fricative at the end of an initial constituent behaves the same way in regard to voicing as a medial fricative in a simplex: it is voiced between voiced segments, otherwise unvoiced. Thus, the constituent-final fricative is voiced in compounds like *self-myrðrung* 'suicide', *fūs-lēoð* 'dirge', *eorð-denu* 'valley', *sorg-word* 'lamentation' and quasi-compounds like *self-liċ* 'egotistical', *fūs-liċ* 'ready', *eorð-liċ* 'worldly', *sorg-liċ* 'miserable', whereas it is voiceless in compounds like *luf-tācen* 'love-token', *hūs-stede* 'homestead', *bæð-hūs* 'bathhouse', *sorg-stafas* 'anxiety' and quasi-compounds like *luf-sum* 'loving', *hūs-sċipe* 'house(hold)', *eorð-fæst* 'fixed in the earth', *sorg-ful* 'sorrowful'.[1] Variation seems to have been of the same sort before inflexions, since [x] is frequently lenited and lost before inflexions with voiced initials, e.g. *hēane* acc.sg.masc. 'high', *hēara* gen.pl.

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[1] For the evidence, see Fulk (2002), where questions are raised about the syllable-final devoicing of fricatives discussed in Hogg (1992b: §7.61).

4

Adjectives, Adverbs and Numerals

I Introduction

4.1 As in other Gmc languages, adjectives in OE have a double declension which is syntactically determined. When an adjective occurs attributively within a noun phrase which is made definite by the presence of a demonstrative, possessive pronoun or possessive noun, then it follows one set of declensional patterns, but when an adjective is in any other noun phrase or occurs predicatively, it follows a different set of patterns, see further §4.2. The set of patterns assumed by an adjective in a definite context broadly follows the set of inflexions for the *n*-stem nouns, whilst the set of patterns taken in other (indefinite) contexts broadly follows the set of inflexions for *a*- and *ō*-stem nouns.[1] For this reason, when adjectives take the first set of inflexions they are traditionally called weak adjectives, and when they take the second set of inflexions they are traditionally called strong adjectives. Such practice, although practically universal, has less to recommend it than may seem to be the case, both historically and synchronically. Historically, see further §§4.9–13, some adjectival inflexions derive from pronominal rather than nominal forms; synchronically, the adjectives underwent restructuring at an even swifter pace than the nouns, so that the terminology 'strong' or 'vocalic' versus 'weak' or 'consonantal' becomes misleading. For this reason the two declensions of the adjective are here called 'indefinite' and 'definite', following Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §50). Quantifiers, such as *eall* 'all', *moniġ* 'many', are mostly morphologically identical to other adjectives,[2] and they are therefore for the most part silently included in the following discussion. Numerals, although they present many of the same forms as adjectives, have some characteristics of their own, and they will therefore be discussed separately below. Both present and past or passive participles of verbs inflect normally as adjectives.[3]

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[1] *Wona* 'lacking' and *ġewuna*, *bewuna* 'accustomed', mostly used only predicatively, are in general indeclinable, but some inflected forms can be found.

[2] But *fela* 'many' is indeclinable, see §2.71.

[3] In this work, 'past participle' refers indiscriminately to past and passive participles, i.e. to second participles.

4.2 There are some general rules which modify the contrast between indefinite and definite adjectives outlined in §4.1.[1]

(i) Comparative forms of the adjective are always declined definite, but this is not true of superlatives except those with suffixal *-mest*, see §4.75.
(ii) Quite frequently, definite forms of the adjective are used in vocative constructions without a demonstrative or possessive, and this is to be expected (since the NP as a whole is semantically definite), but in poetry the same usage may be found in other contexts, too, e.g. Beo 1792 *gamela Sċylding* 'ancient Scylding' = 'Hrothgar'.[2]
(iii) After *ān* and *sum* and other quantifiers including numerals, indefinite forms of the adjective are normal.

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[1] For more precise details and discussion of the types of variation, see Mitchell (1985: §§97–141). Particularly important in the present context are his remarks on the merger of the inflexions *-um* and *-an*.

[2] At one time this usage was generally held to be of firm chronological significance, see Lichtenheld (1873), Barnouw (1902). Subsequent research came to the conclusion that such claims should be laid to rest, see Funke (1949), Amos (1980), the former apparently unknown to the latter. Yet the faults of the chronological arguments do not invalidate them as entirely as has sometimes been supposed. Although it is true that a chronology of OE verse cannot be constructed on the basis of this usage, a high incidence of definite adjectives in indefinite constructions remains a probable indication of early composition, even if, conversely, a low incidence proves nothing about late composition: see Mitchell (1985: §114), Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlix–cl).

4.3 In the remainder of this chapter we deal with the relevant topics in the following order: (1) the indefinite declension; (2) the definite declension; (3) comparison of adjectives and adverbs;[1] (4) numerals.

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[1] Adverbs are naturally uninflected for case and number in OE, and they show no regular suffixal variation except among the suffixes indicating the positive, comparative and superlative degrees.

II Indefinite (strong) adjectives

1 *Historical origins*

4.4 In PGmc the declension of indefinite adjectives was formed by the addition of the same set of vocalic suffixes as are added to the roots of nouns of the vocalic stem classes, see §§2.1–2 for details of the formation. Within this structure, in the very earliest stage of the Gmc protolanguage, wherever an adjective belonged originally to the *a*-stems, the thematic vowel -*a*- concluded the stem to which the masc. and neut. inflexions were added, whilst the corresponding fem. inflexions were added to suffixal */oː/ from the parallel *ō*-stems, with the exceptions discussed in §§4.9–13. Just as in the corresponding nouns, however, see §2.1, the distinction among root, stem-forming suffix, and inflexion began to be obscured at a very early date. Naturally, there also occurred adjectives belonging to the sub-classes of *ja-/jō*-stems and *wa-/wō*-stems.[1] In the event that indefinite adjectives were originally either *i*-stems or *u*-stems, they came to acquire the endings of *a*-stems and *ō*-stems, see §§4.5–8.

[1] For the sake of brevity we shall refer to *a-/ō*-stems and the corresponding forms with preceding *j*- or *w*- simply as *a*-stems and *ō*-stems.

4.5 Few traces of either *i*-stems or *u*-stems remain in any of the Gmc languages, even in Gothic. There, however, *i*-stems are marked by distinctive forms in the nom.sg., acc.sg.neut., and gen.sg.masc.neut., whilst in other parts of their declension they are identical to *ja*-stem adjectives. In Gothic also, *u*-stem adjectives have distinctive forms in the nom.sg.,[1] but elsewhere they have the forms of the *ja*-stems, see for both classes Wright (1954: §§233–6). It is plain, therefore, that the process of reducing the variety of stem classes for adjectives to a single declension was already well under way at an early stage of Gmc, see further §4.7n2.

[1] And also, therefore, in the acc.sg.neut.

4.6 By the OE period, assimilation by all the indefinite adjectives of a uniform set of inflexions was virtually complete. Thus, although it is customary to distinguish *ja*- and *wa*-stems from the simple *a*-stems, it is plain that in a synchronic analysis all the adjectives, with the few exceptions noted below, share a single set of inflexions and allomorphic variations and that the different historical origins of these three types are determinable from the particular allomorphies which they display. As elsewhere in Gmc, the *i*-stems have assimilated completely to the general declension, see §4.7 for further discussion. The *u*-stems have also been so assimilated, with few exceptions.[1]

[1] The most frequent exception is *cucu* 'alive' nom.sg., which form is regular in Ælfric and from which acc.sg.masc. *cucen(n)e* is formed. Other WS forms showing an original *u*-stem formation include Lch II *cucune* alongside nom.sg. *cwic* and less frequent nom.sg. *cwicu*, as well as the purely phonological alternant *cucone*. But Angl always has forms of the general declension, i.e. nom.sg. *cwic*, acc.sg.masc. *cwicne*, which latter

form also occurs in Or. The form *cucenne* is usually held to show unhistorical doubling of *n*, thus Brunner (1965: §231A3), Campbell (1977: §457n4); it is noteworthy that it appears to be more frequent in Ælfric than the expected *cucene*. Since the other cases have been assimilated to the general declension (e.g. Or 5.130.16 -*cucre* dat.sg.fem.), *cucone* would have seemed anomalous for expected *cucne* (which also occurs, as an analogical re-formation), and it may have seemed that the medial vowel could be justified only on the assumption that -*ne* was a reduction of -*nne*. On the etymology, see Bammesberger (1986a), Heidermanns (1986: 305–6). *Wlacu* 'tepid' appears in a minority of forms in EWS and Lch against assimilated *wlæc*.

4.7 Light-syllabled historical *i*-stems can be distinguished from the historical *ja*-stems in OE by virtue of nom.sg.masc.neut. in -*e* after a single consonant, e.g. *swiċe* 'deceitful', compared with nom.sg. in -Ø after a geminate consonant, e.g. *midd* 'middle'. Examples of light-syllabled historical *i*-stems include: *bryċe* 'brittle', *ġemyne* 'mindful', *swiċe* 'deceitful', possibly *freme* 'excellent'.[1] Heavy-syllabled historical *i*-stems, on the other hand, can be distinguished only comparatively and etymologically, and they include *blīþe* 'joyful', *brȳċe* 'useful', *ġedēfe* 'becoming', *ġemǣne* 'common'.[2]

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[1] That *freme* is an adj. in OE is dubitable. There is no cognate *i*-stem adj. in Gmc, and the two proposed instances of the adj. in OE are insecure, being perhaps instances of the noun *fremu* 'benefit': see Fulk (2004: 620–1, 624–5), but cf. Bammesberger (2006).

[2] *Swēte*, *swōt* 'sweet' is an *u*-stem, *pace* Brunner (1965: §302A1). It is especially noteworthy here that the fem. forms of this adj. had already transferred to the *ja*-stems in both Sanskrit and Greek, thus *svādú*- masc., *svādvī́* fem., *ἡδύς* masc., *ἡδεῖα* fem., showing that the process of class transfer may well have been pre-Germanic, see Prokosch (1939: 263).

4.8 All the historical *u*-stems with the exception of those noted in §4.6n1 have transferred to the general declension, but the following adjectives appear on comparative and etymological grounds to be historical *u*-stems: *eġle* 'troublesome', *enġe* 'narrow', *heard* 'hard', *hnesċ(e)* 'soft', *myr(i)ġe* 'pleasant', *smolt* 'tranquil', *strang* 'strong', *swōt* 'sweet', *þyrre* 'dry', *twelfwintre* 'twelve-year-old' and other compounds of *wintre*, and probably *swǣr* 'heavy'. Most of these nouns given with unumlauted vowels above have umlauted variants, hence *hnisca*, *smylte*, *strenġe*, *swēte*, *swǣre*, see §4.7n2.

2 *Inflexions*

4.9 The general principle underlying the adjectival inflexions of the indefinite declension in Gmc is that the set of inflexions for masc. and neut. forms of adjectives is identical to the set of inflexions of the historical *a*-stem nouns and that the set of inflexions for fem. forms is identical to the set of inflexions of the historical ō-stem nouns. There are two exceptions to this. Firstly, as stated in §4.1, the inflexions of this declension are partly nominal, partly pronominal in origin. The inflexions which are pronominal in origin are acc.sg.masc., dat.sg.masc.neut., gen.dat.sg.fem., nom.acc.pl.masc., gen.pl. (all genders).[1] Secondly, unlike nouns, adjectives in OE regularly retain in the masc.neut.sg. a separate inflexion for the instrumental case.

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[1] On the origin of the mixture of nominal and pronominal inflexions, see Birkhan (1974, with references), whose objections, however, to the theory of suffixation with the pronoun _*jas_ are unpersuasive.

4.10 We may reconstruct for an early stage of PGmc the following set of inflexions for this declension; cf. §§2.8, 2.13, 2.38 for the nominal inflexions and §§4.12, 5.5 for the pronominal inflexions:[1]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	*-az	*-am	*-ō
Acc.	***-anōn**	*-am	*-ōm
Gen.	*-as	*-as	***-aizōoz**
Dat.	***-umu**	***-umu**	***-aizai**
Instr.	*-ei	*-ei	———
Plural			
Nom.	***-ai**	*-ō	*-ōoz
Acc.	*-ans	*-ō	*-ōnz
Gen.	***-aizōom**	***-aizōom**	***-aizōom**
Dat.	*-omiz	*-omiz	*-ōmiz

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[1] As is traditionally the practice, pronominal inflexions are typographically distinguished, in this book by the use of bold type.

4.11 Most of the nominal inflexions develop normally into OE, see §§2.8, 2.13, 2.38 for further details. Note in particular that the acc.pl. forms of all genders become identical to the nom.pl. forms.

4.12 Of the pronominal forms, none are without difficulty, but the most straightforward is acc.sg.masc. _*-anōn_, which initially developed to _*-ane_, see Hogg (1992b: §3.32). Then the medial _*-a-_ was subject to non-high vowel syncope, see ibid.: §§6.14–15, giving _-ne_, e.g. _blindne_ 'blind'. It may be that the gen.dat.sg. and the gen.pl. of all genders show the same syncope after early shortening of */æː/ (< */ai/) > */æ/, although alternatively they may be from inflexions of the type _*-ezōz_, etc., cf. the OHG demonstrative _dera_ and see ibid.: §6.15n2 for further discussion. Otherwise, these inflexions show the expected developments of their unstressed syllables; however, see further §4.13. The historical shape of the dat.sg.masc.neut. is yet more uncertain. In Gothic the form is *-amma*, which cannot give directly the OE form, which is shared with Old Saxon and Old Norse *-om*, whilst OHG has *-emu*. If the historical form was indeed **-umu*, then the final vowel would have been lost regularly after two or more syllables, see ibid.: §3.29, and the quality of the medial vowel may have been influenced by the dat.pl., see Prokosch (1939: 276).

4.13 The set of OE inflexions which would develop by the processes described above and in accordance with the development of the nominal inflexions as considered in chapter 2 is as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	-Ø	-Ø	-u
Acc.	**-ne**	-Ø	-e
Gen.	-es	-es	**-re**
Dat.	**-um**	**-um**	**-re**
Instr.	-e	-e	———
Plural			
Nom.	**-e**	-u	-a
Acc.[1]	**-e**	-u	-a
Gen.	**-ra**	**-ra**	**-ra**
Dat.	-um	-um	-um

In the acc.sg.masc., gen.dat.sg.fem and gen.pl., the historically initial vowel of the inflexion, i.e. in **-ane*, **-ere*, **-era* would always have been subject to syncope, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.14–15) and §4.12 above. This historical change is probably subject to restructuring in the synchronic context, see further §4.35.

[1] On acc.pl. forms, see §4.11.

4.14 The earliest OE texts evince a number of spellings which indicate earlier forms of the inflexions listed in §4.13. In particular, early texts quite often have *-æ* for *-e* as in EpGl, ErfGl *frōdræ* 'aged' gen.sg.fem., RuthCr *riiċnæ* 'powerful' acc.sg.masc. Also in early texts, the instr.sg. inflexion is sometimes recorded as *-i*, as in EpGl *-num(i)ni* 'taken'.[1]

[1] For references to controversy over this instr. *-i*, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 202, note to Beo 1382), especially the article by Bammesberger cited there.

4.15 The inflexions listed in §4.13 lead to paradigms of the following type, exemplified by *sum* 'some, a certain':

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	sum	sum	sumu
Acc.	sumne	sum	sume
Gen.	sumes	sumes	sumre
Dat.	sumum	sumum	sumre
Instr.	sume	sume	———
Plural			
Nom.	sume	sumu	suma
Acc.	sume	sumu	suma
Gen.	sumra	sumra	sumra
Dat.	sumum	sumum	sumum

This type of paradigm, however, is frequently subject to modification of one type or another in all dialects, and such modifications are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.16 In EWS the most significant feature of the paradigm is that the nom.acc.pl. of fem. adjs. often has inflexional -*e* rather than -*a*, although the latter remains in the majority, cf. §2.40 for the contrasting situation amongst the equivalent fem. nouns. Inflexional -*e* is also found for the nom.acc.pl. of neut. nouns of all types, e.g. *sume*, *ealle*, *moniġe*, *sċeamliċe*, etc., alongside regular -*u* or Ø.[1] Occasionally, EWS texts show an epenthetic vowel in gen.dat.sg.fem. *sumere* alongside *sumre*. These minority developments in EWS are forerunners of a more widespread restructuring of the inflexional system in LWS, see §4.17.

[1] The alternation between -*u* and -Ø is due to apocope, see further §4.41.

4.17 The most significant feature of the LWS paradigm is that the inflexions of the nom.sg. and of the nom.acc.pl. become uniform for all genders, see Pope (1967–8: I, 184). This results in zero-inflected forms in the nom.sg. of all genders, and -*e* as the marker of nom.acc.pl. in all genders.[1] To some extent this may be the result merely of the spread of inflexional forms already found in EWS, as with the use of -*e* for nom.acc.pl.fem. A further cause may be the functional loss of a synchronic rule of apocope, see further §4.43, which would apply to the nom.sg.fem. and the nom.acc.pl.neut. But perhaps more important than the apparently scattered range of causes is the consequence that all adjectives then decline in the plural without distinction of gender.[2] Other changes apparent in LWS include in particular the widespread presence of an epenthetic vowel in the gen.dat.sg.fem. and the gen.pl., hence *sumere*, *sumera*. Such forms occur equally with heavy-stemmed adjectives, e.g. *gōdere*, *gōdera*, and are overwhelmingly predominant in

Ælfric and also in most other LWS texts. Furthermore, the instr.sg.masc.neut., which remained in EWS, is lost except in set phrases of the type *ǣlċe dæġ* 'every day', cf. §2.18. The quite significant and systematic differences between EWS and LWS are most clearly demonstrated by displaying the normal paradigm of these adjectives in LWS:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	sum	sum	sum	sume
Acc.	sumne	sum	sume	sume
Gen.	sumes	sumes	sumere	sumera
Dat.	sumum	sumum	sumere	sumum

[1] The most important exception to this statement is *manega* 'many' nom.acc.pl., also *fēawa* 'few'. These two are no doubt semantically linked, and the presence of *-a* in these words may well be due to indeclinable *fela* 'many', as implied by Pope (1967–8: I, 184).

[2] This process of neutralization of gender seems to have progressed more rapidly in the past participle used in periphrastic constructions (perfect or passive) than elsewhere, although EWS has a number of examples in which gender distinctions remain, as at CPLetWærf 13 *wæs oðfeallenu* 'had declined' nom.sg.fem. Pope (1967–8: I, 184) notes that in his texts the past participle with *habban* is uninflected except at ÆHom 22.466 *abedene* acc.pl. from *abiddan* 'pray for', although it is inflected after *bēon/wesan* and *wurðan*, though without distinction of gender.

4.18 In lNbr the picture is often difficult to discern, both because of the arbitrary habits of the glossators and because of the variations of the unstressed vowels, see firstly Lindelöf (1890: §62). In the nom.sg.fem. there is variation between the historical inflexion *-o* (< *-u*) and *-e*, *-a*, and the situation is not dissimilar in the nom.acc.pl. without obvious distinction of gender, *-o* being the commonest variant in the NNbr texts. A dat.sg.masc.neut. inflexion *-e*, taken from the nominal declension, occurs alongside *-um*. But perhaps the most notable characteristic of this system is the use of uninflected forms throughout the sg., which is a feature of Li, although not of the other lNbr texts. An important exception to this is that the inflexion of the gen.sg. for all genders is *-es*, although DurRitGl also infrequently has *-re*. Insofar as can be determined from the evidence, the SNbr Ru2 shows a rather more conservative system, especially in the absence of uninflected forms except in the nom.sg. (and the acc.sg.neut.), see Lindelöf (1901: §§178–80).

4.19 In the PsGl(A) dialect of Merc, the system of inflexion is considerably more conservative, and the principal departure from the system presented in §4.15 is that the nom.acc.pl.fem. inflexion is *-e*, as should be expected on the basis of the parallel nouns, see §2.40. The same inflexion is also found in nom.acc.neut.pl. of past participles, thus showing an initial stage in the same loss of gender distinction noted in §4.17 for LWS. The later Ru1 has adopted *-e* as the regular neut.pl. inflexion, and in addition a minority of forms in the sg. are without inflexion, partly paralleling the situation which arose in lNbr, see §4.18.

4.20 The inflexions of Kt generally follow the same pattern as in WS, and in the lKt gloss OccGl 49 the inflexions are generally identical to those of LWS. However, it should be noted that an epenthetic vowel is present before *-re*, *-ra* only in OccGl 49.159 *swēsere* dat.sg. of *swǣs* 'pleasant'. The nom.acc.pl.fem. inflexion is always *-e* except in 359 *dīohla* 'secret', 788 *fētto* 'fat' and 175, 476 *manega* 'many', of which only the last may be significant, cf. LWS *manega* cited in §4.17n1.

3 *Allomorphic variation*

4.21 The basic pattern of indefinite adjective declension has been given in the preceding sections, but there are several types of allomorphic variation which must be considered. These allomorphic variations are, naturally, almost entirely parallel to those for nouns of the *as*- and *a*-declensions, see for details §§3.12–72, 3.81–104 respectively. Since that is the case, we shall consider the relevant variations in, as far as is possible, the same order as was employed for the nominal declensions.[1] Also, where the pattern of allomorphic variations in this declension is not significantly different from that found amongst nouns, as, for example, in the case of palatalization, see §§3.18–20, 3.85, we shall silently pass over the topic here.

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[1] But wherever possible we shall conflate the discussion of the same allomorphic variation when it applies to both masc./neut. adjectives and fem. adjectives.

(a) Restoration of ǎ̆

4.22 Following the situation in *as*-declension nouns, see §3.14, it should be expected that indefinite adjectives which have stem-vowel /æ/ in the nom.sg.masc. would show a shift to /ɑ/ before an inflexion containing a back vowel but would retain /æ/ elsewhere, hence nom.sg.masc. *hwæt* 'active', but dat.sg. *hwatum*. However, the normal paradigm of this type of noun is as follows in LWS:[1,2]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	hwæt *active*	hwæt	hwæt	hwate
Acc.	hwætne	hwæt	hwate	hwate
Gen.	hwates	hwates	hwætre	hwætra
Dat.	hwatum	hwatum	hwætre	hwatum
(*Instr.*	hwate	hwate)		

Examples of adjectives which pattern similarly are: *bær* ‘bare’, *blæc* ‘black’, *glæd* ‘glad’, *hræd* ‘quick’, *læt* ‘slow’, *sæd* ‘sated’, *smæl* ‘slender’, *stræc* ‘strict’, *wær* ‘wary’.

[1] The variation of stem vowel in EWS follows the same set of rules as in LWS. The instr.sg. is given in brackets to show that it is taken from EWS forms.

[2] Several of the forms in the paradigm do not appear to be recorded; in particular, *hwætre*, *hwætra* are not to be found in the *DOEC*, either as simplices or as the second element of compounds. They may be inferred from the occurring forms of other adjectives of the same type, but see §4.24 for further comment.

4.23 The distribution of /æ/ and /ɑ/ in the paradigm of §4.22 appears to be quite regular, for /æ/ appears only in a closed syllable and /ɑ/ only in an open syllable.[1] An explanation of this distribution is, however, difficult, as is noted by Girvan (1931: §28a2), see also Hogg (1996) for more detailed discussion and references. It is certainly quite plain that the distribution is not due to levelling, as suggested in, for example, Wright and Wright (1925: §54n3), since there is no reduction in allomorphic variation in the paradigm presented in §4.22 as compared with the paradigm which would have been expected under the phonological conditions for restoration of *a*.

[1] Under the assumption that syncope in gen.dat.sg.fem. and gen.pl. has already occurred, see §4.12 and, for some discussion of the synchronic status of such syncope, §§4.47, 4.55.

4.24 Although the type of paradigm presented in §4.22 seems quite regular for Ælfrician texts and other texts of the late period, some late texts often show /æ/ throughout, although in these instances it may sometimes be the case that <æ> and <a> are equivalent spellings.[1] In dialects other than WS the situation is somewhat different. In Nbr these adjectives have almost exclusively /æ/ throughout their paradigm, the principal exception being LiEpis 20 *blaccum* ‘black’ dat.sg.masc.; cf. also LkGl(Li) 24.25 *hlætto* ‘slow’ nom.pl.masc.[2] In Merc the situation is altered by the effects of second fronting, as in PsGl(A) 13.3 *hreðe* ‘quick’ nom.pl. For Kt note OccGl 49.665 *hred* with Kentish raising, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.189–91).

[1] However, this can hardly be so in the case of Beo 58 *glæde* acc.pl.masc., on which see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 117). Elsewhere in the poem we find dat.sg. *gladum*.

[2] On the unhistorical initial *h*, see Hogg (1992b: §7.48).

(b) Loss of [x]

4.25 In broad outline, the indefinite adjectives with final [x] show the same set of patterns as the corresponding masc./neut. nouns discussed in §§3.25–9 and the few fem. nouns of this type discussed in §§3.88–9. As with nouns, loss of [x] could occur either after a vowel or after a liquid consonant. In either event, [x] would be lost between voiced segments, including, it is important to note, sonorants, but it would be retained word-finally.

4.26 The typical paradigm in LWS of such an adjective with [x] after a vowel may be exemplified by *hēah* 'high'. This paradigm shows a number of significant variations from the paradigm typically found in EWS and also from that which would be expected phonologically (insofar as these are different, see §4.27), and these variations are discussed in §4.27 and §4.28 respectively.[1,2]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	hēah *high*	hēah	hēah	hēage[3]
Acc.	hēahne	hēah	hēage[4]	[hēage]
Gen.	[hēages]	[hēages]	hēahre	[hēahra]
Dat.	hēagum	hēagum	hēahre	hēagum

Adjectives which decline in a similar manner include *fāh* 'hostile', *flāh* 'deceitful', *ġemāh* 'depraved', *hrēoh* 'rough', *nēah* 'near',[5] *sċēoh* 'shy', *tōh* 'tough', *þrōh* 'rancid', *an*-, *ġewlōh* 'fruitful', *wōh* 'crooked'.[6] Note that there are no light stems of this sort.

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[1] A number of forms are absent from Ælfrician texts and even from other LWS texts. Such forms are presented in square brackets in the paradigm, usually on the basis of similar forms in the definite (weak) declension.

[2] The paradigm given here is the type which is regularly found in Ælfrician texts. Some other LWS texts do not show this paradigm, see §4.28, and hence they do not appear to have undergone the kind of restructuring which is discussed in §4.29.

[3] ÆLS (Julian and Basilissa) 286 (nom.pl.masc.).

[4] ÆLS (Christmas) 22.

[5] Usually an adverb, but occasionally an adjective, as in PrudGl 1.890 *nēahne*.

[6] *Rūh* 'rough' may show either the alternation *h* ~ *g* or the alternation *h* ~ *w*, parallel to nouns such as *holh* 'hollow', see §3.29.

4.27 In EWS the more usual paradigm of the adjectives of the same type was as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	hēah	hēah	hēa	hēa
Acc.	hēane	hēah	hēa	hēa
Gen.	hēas	hēas	hēare	hēara
Dat.	hēam	hēam	hēare	hēam

This paradigm is in every respect phonologically expected. All the forms without post-vocalic [x] are the result of loss of [x] between a vowel and another voiced segment, whether vocalic or, as in *hēane*, *hēare*, *hēara*, consonantal. In the cases in which a vowel followed [x] which was lost, the unstressed vowel of the inflexion was lost in hiatus, hence nom.sg.fem. *hēa* < **hēa-u* < **hēahu*, gen.sg.masc./neut. *hēas* < **hēa-es* < **hēahes*, etc. Thus, the allomorphic variations in the paradigm can be straightforwardly handled by synchronic rules which are the direct equivalents of the historical sound changes, cf. the similar situation for nouns described in §3.26. There are in EWS only a few scattered examples of variation from the above paradigm, notably CP(H) 443.36 *hēah* acc.pl., in which *h* would appear to have been restored on the analogy of the nom.sg., but see the discussion of LWS forms in §4.28, and CP(C) 80.13 *hēanne* (beside CP(H) *hēane*), which would appear to be a re-formation on the basis of *hēah* to *hēahne* with subsequent assimilation of *hn* > *nn*.[1]

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[1] This is the usual explanation, as in Luick (1914–40: §649.7), Campbell (1977: §484). It is not necessarily incompatible with the fact that the usual LWS form is *hēahne*, especially if the explanation for this given in §4.29 is correct. An alternative view is held by Weyhe (1925: 316).

4.28 Some non-Ælfrician LWS texts inflect adjectives like *hēah* the way Ælfric does, as in the paradigm in §4.26, e.g. *hēahne* in LS 8, WSCp, BenRW. Such texts tend to exhibit few of the Angl characteristics that are so common in some non-Ælfrician LWS texts. Contracted forms like those exhibited by the EWS paradigm in §4.27 tend to occur in LWS texts with notable Angl features, such as *hēa* in HomS 10, HomS 40.1–3, LS 25.[1]

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[1] On the distinction between LWS homiletic texts that do and do not show many seemingly Angl features, see Fulk (2008).

4.29 It is plain that the differences between the EWS paradigm in §4.27 and the LWS paradigm in §4.26 can be accounted for only by assuming some notable restructuring. Medial [x] has become impervious to deletion and usually appears as <g>, whilst the endings are the same as for other LWS indefinite adjectives, see §§4.13, 4.17. To be sure, it cannot be determined for certain that *-e* has been generalized to all genders in the nom.acc.pl., since the only relevant example in Ælfric of *hēah* or of any of the other, similar stems listed in §4.26 is masculine, see §4.26n3.[1] Assumption of *-e* for all genders, however, seems safest. This suggests the following set of inflexions for all indefinite adjectives in Ælfric, including those in *-h*:[2]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-e
Acc.	-ne	-Ø	-e	-e
Gen.	-es	-es	-re	-ra
Dat.	-um	-um	-re	-um

Even assuming the above set of inflexions, it is still necessary to suppose that further restructuring has taken place. Thus, dat.sg.pl. *hēagum* might be derived from underlying */hæɑxum/ if it were assumed that */x/ is preserved and in this declension not subject when between voiced segments to lenition to [h] and then loss, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.45–51, esp. §7.49). Then */x/ would be subject to intervocalic voicing. This is not a very satisfying solution, as the voicing rule would seem rather ad hoc, and it could not be conditioned convincingly on a purely phonological basis, since, for example, although *hēagre* occurs 3 times in (non-Ælfrician) LWS, beside *hēahre* (10×, in Ælfric and elsewhere), there is no ***hēagne* beside *hēahne* (31×). Thus, a better solution is to suppose that *hēah* has been reanalysed as underlying /hæɑɣ/, with devoicing of /ɣ/ word-finally and, perhaps, syllable-finally.[3] The devoicing rule need not be assumed to have applied sporadically under this analysis, since it is plain that <g> and <h> are interchangeable graphs when representing [ɣ] and [x], see ibid.: §7.64, and use of one or the other may depend more on scribal traditions than on phonetic correspondences. Scribal tradition at all events seems a necessary assumption in order to account for the absence of ***heagne* whilst *hēagre* is attested.

[1] But cf. WHom 10c 88 *wōge* 'crooked' acc.pl.fem.

[2] It would appear possible to permit final *-u* to remain, at least in the nom.sg.fem., for this could be deleted by apocope, on which see §§4.41–3. That is, uninflected *hēah* in the nom.sg.fem. would result naturally from /hæɑɣ+u/ by high vowel apocope followed by fricative devoicing. Significantly, there are no adjectives with stem-final *-h* after a short vowel, see §4.26, so that the behaviour of inflexional *-u* under such circumstances cannot be determined, i.e. whether it would have been preserved as such or whether there would have been loss of intervocalic [x] followed by vowel contraction, or whether all adjective stems in *-h* came to be zero-inflected in the nom.sg.fem. But since final *-u* never appears on surface forms in LWS, surely it is preferable to assume that the inflexions were the same for stems in *-h* as for other stems, and there was zero inflexion in all nom.sg.fem. adjectives, both light and heavy stems. This also accords better with the supposition that apocope had been lost as a phonological rule in LWS declension, see §4.43.

[3] See Hogg (1992b: §7.60), but cf. Fulk (2002), where reasons are offered to doubt that devoicing of fricatives applied anywhere except word-finally, and apparent instances are instead to be attributed to the interchangeability of non-initial <g> and <h> due to the allophonic status of [ɣ] and [x].

4.30 There are few adjectives with [x] after a liquid: *þweorh* 'crooked', *sċeolh* 'oblique', the latter of which occurs only with definite (weak) inflexions.[1] The paradigm of *þweorh*, insofar as it can be determined, is as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	þweorh	þweorh	þwē̆oru[2]	þwē̆ore[3]
Acc.	þweorne	þweorh	þwē̆ore	þwē̆ore
Gen.	þwē̆ores	þwē̆ores	þweorre	þweorra
Dat.	þwē̆orum	þwē̆orum	þweorre	þwē̆orum
Inst.	þwē̆ore	þwē̆ore	———	———

Compare this declension with the declension of a similarly structured noun, e.g. *mearh* 'horse', see §§3.25ff.

[1] *Ġefearh* occurs only in collocation with *sugu*, perhaps as a compound, with the meanings 'pregnant sow, calf'.
[2] But in LWS this is usually *þwē̆or* with apocope, see §4.42(b).
[3] The nom.acc.pl.neut. forms are *þwē̆oru*, LWS *þwē̆or*, the latter with apocope, see n2.

(c) Nominative singular in -e

4.31 A large number of adjectives have their nom.sg. in *-e*, as with *wilde* 'wild'. In Gmc these adjectives were mainly heavy *ja*-stems, but in OE they have assimilated their paradigms to original *a*-stems such as *sum* 'some'. Also to be included in this group are original Gmc *i*-stems, whether with a light or heavy stem, see §4.33 for examples. In most respects these adjectives appear to parallel the equivalent *as*-declension nouns such as *ende* 'end' which have *-e* in their nom.sg. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that these adjectives uniformly share the morphological structure of the equivalent nouns, see §§4.34–5 for discussion of the relevant issues.

4.32 A typical paradigm of an adjective of this type in LWS is as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	wilde *wild*	wilde	wilde	wilde
Acc.	wildne	wilde	wilde	wilde
Gen.	wildes	wildes	wildre	wildra
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildre	wildum

Amongst the large number of adjectives with similar paradigms are the following:[1] *æþele* 'noble', *brēme* 'famous', *cēne* 'bold', *clǣne* 'clean', *cȳme* 'becoming', *dēore* 'dear', *drȳġe* 'dry', *dyrne* 'secret', *ēċe* 'eternal', *fǣcne* 'deceitful', *ġīfre* 'greedy', *grēne* 'green', *līþe* 'gentle', *mǣre* 'famous', *rīċe* 'powerful', *sēfte* 'soft', *sȳfre* 'sober', *ġesȳne* 'visible', *wēste* 'waste', *wyrþe* 'worthy', *yrre* 'angry'. In addition to these, there are adjectives of this type formed with a number of frequent suffixes, including the following:

(a) *-bære*, as in *lustbære* 'agreeable', *wæstmbære* 'fruitful';[2]
(b) *-ede*, as in *hōcede* 'hooked', *hringede* 'ringed';
(c) *-ihte*, as in *stānihte* 'stony', *þyrnihte* 'thorny';[3]
(d) *-wende*, as in *hālwende* 'healing', *hātwende* 'hot'.

By far the largest subgroup of adjectives of this type is the present participles of verbs which have the form stem + *-ende*, see §6.28 for details.

[1] A small number of words which belong to this type show mainly historical irregularities of one sort or another, including the following: (a) *nīwe*, which appears to have been transferred to this group despite having originally an initial light syllable, see Dahl (1938:106–7) for discussion; (b) *frēo* ‘free’ has an alternative nom.sg. *frīġ* and hence variant forms such as gen.sg. *frīġes*, *frēos*; the first member of each pair is the historically expected form, see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(1)) for further discussion; (c) *earfeþe* ‘difficult’ is a back-formation from the neut. noun meaning ‘trouble’, which had nom. pl. *earfeþu*, taken for the neut. of an adjective. As Campbell (1977: §648.4) remarks, both the noun and the adjective could be inflected as *a*-stems, with nom.sg. *earfoþ* beside *earfeþ*, for reasons explained in Hogg (1992b: §§6.5, 6.29); and the stem *earfoþ-* could then be extended to other cases of the adjective.

[2] For surveys of forms in *-bǣre*, see Matzel (1974, 1991, 1992).

[3] Some of these adjectives have alternative forms without *-e*, thus *stāniht*. Also, forms with and without *i*-umlaut occur, e.g. *stǣniht*, *þorniht*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.85.10(a)).

4.33 Original heavy-stemmed *i*-stem adjectives which are fully assimilated into this group in OE include the following, generally only to be distinguished from original *ja*-stems on comparative grounds: *blīþe* ‘joyful’, *brȳċe* ‘useful’, *ġedēfe* ‘becoming’, *ġemǣne* ‘common’. Originally light-stemmed *i*-stems can be distinguished in OE by their lack of gemination alongside *i*-umlaut, as with *bryċe* ‘brittle’, *ġemyne* ‘mindful’, *swiċe* ‘deceitful’.[1]

[1] Perhaps to be included here are *fyrn* ‘formerly’, almost always adverbial, and *lȳt* ‘little’, mostly a noun and an adverb, rarely, as JDay II.61 *mid lȳt wordum*, an indeclinable adjective. On *freme* ‘excellent’, see §4.7n1.

4.34 Outside LWS of the type represented in Ælfrician texts, the paradigm of these adjectives is somewhat different. In particular it should be noted that the EWS paradigm is of the following type, cf. §§4.15–16 in particular for minor variations:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Singular			
Nom.	wilde	wilde	wildu
Acc.	wildne	wilde	wilde
Gen.	wildes	wildes	wildre
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildre
Instr.	wilde	wilde	———
Plural			
Nom.	wilde	wildu	wilde
Acc.	wilde	wildu	wilde
Gen.	wildra	wildra	wildra
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildum

When the last consonant in the stem is post-consonantal and is identical to an inflexion-initial consonant, the resulting geminate is simplified, as expected, see Hogg (1992b: §7.80). For example, to *dyrne* 'hidden' the acc.sg.masc. inflexion *-ne* is added to produce *dyrne*, whilst there is no degemination in acc.sg.masc. *grēnne*, cf. nom.sg. *grēne* 'green'. The adjectival compass terms, e.g. *norþerne*, *seþerne*, are in OE of the same structure and hence follow the same paradigm as *dyrne*. There also occurs syllabification of a post-consonantal sonorant before stem-final *-e* in certain adjectives of this class, including *fǣcne* 'deceitful', *frēcne* 'horrible',[1] *ġīfre* 'greedy', *lȳþre* 'evil', *sȳfre* 'chaste' and possibly *dīġle* 'secret', although this last could equally be from *dīgol*.[2] Forms of these words bearing an inflexion which begins with a consonant different from the syllabifiable stem-consonant regularly show syllabification of the last consonant in the stem, hence acc.sg.masc. *lȳðerne*, dat.sg.fem. *dīgolre*, gen.pl. *dȳġelra*, *frēcenra*. But other forms do not show epenthesis, hence acc.sg.masc. *fǣcne*, *frēcne*, gen.pl. *lȳðra*, *-sȳfra* from *fǣcne* + *-ne*, *frēcne* + *-ne*, *lȳðre* + *-ra*, *-sȳfre* + *-ra*.[3]

[1] Campbell (1977) regards this word as containing *ċ*, but deaffrication should have applied anteconsonantally, see §4.49n1.

[2] See Dietz (2000).

[3] The LWS form ClGl1 2794 dat.sg.fem *ġīferre*, beside usual *ġīfre*, is exceptional.

4.35 Most of the allomorphic variation which is displayed in the above EWS and LWS paradigms can be accounted for on a synchronic basis by assuming that the underlying form of the stem of these adjectives is disyllabic, i.e. of the type /wilde/, and that there is a rule which deletes stem-final /e/ before another vowel, thus exactly paralleling the equivalent *as*-declension nouns such as *ende* 'end'.[1] The analysis of /wilde/ as the underlying stem derives support from compounds in *wilde-*, including *wildefȳr* 'lightning' and *wildeswīn* 'wild boar'; *wild(d)ēor* (rarely *wildedēor*) 'wild animal' is no exception, as it is a folk-etymologized re-formation of *wildor*, see §2.100&n4. As for forms like acc.sg.masc. *dyrne* 'hidden' and *lȳðerne* 'evil', the variation that they show is predictable if it is assumed that the underlying shape of the stem is disyllabic as for *wilde*, e.g. /dyrne/, and that in inflected forms, stem-final /e/ is subject to non-high vowel syncope.[2]

[1] For example, EWS nom.sg.fem. *wildu* will be derived synchronically from underlying /wilde+u/ by ordered rules of apocope and *e*-deletion, giving the derivation /wilde+u/ → /wilde+u/ (apocope fails) → /wildu/ (*e*-deletion), cf. §3.34n2 for the parallel derivation of *wītu* 'punishments', whilst LWS nom.sg. *wilde* will be derived from /wilde+e/. In the acc.sg.masc., gen.dat.sg. fem., and gen.pl., the forms *wildne*, *wildre*, *wildra* can be plausibly derived only from underlying forms of the type /wilde+ne/, /wilde+re/, /wilde+ra/, where it is notable that the inflexions do not begin with a vowel as they did historically, see §§4.12–13. These underlying forms will then be subject to the synchronic reflex of non-high vowel syncope in medial positions, which will delete medial /e/, see Hogg

(1992b: §§6.14–15). (Note that the difference between the historical change and the synchronic rule is in terms only of the vowel affected. In the historical change, the vowel which was subject to syncope was the initial vowel of the inflexion; synchronically the vowel subject to syncope is the final vowel of the stem. Thus, syncope itself remains unchanged, and what has changed is the morphological structure of the adjective.) If it were assumed that the relevant inflexions were the historically predicted *-ane*, *-ere*, *-era*, see §4.12, then these forms would be underlyingly of the type /wilde+ane/, from which it is difficult to justify a derivation which would delete both of the medial vowels.

[2] Thus, the underlying shape of acc.sg.masc *dyrne* will be /dyrne+ne/, which will give the surface form by syncope and degemination. On the other hand, from underlying /lyːθre+ne/ the result of syncope will be /lyːθṛne/, where /r/ is syllabic between consonants because it is more sonorous than the preceding consonant, cf. Hogg (1992b: §6.41).

(d) Geminate consonants

4.36 Light-stemmed adjectives parallel to the heavy *ja*-stems discussed in §§4.31ff. should etymologically show a final geminate consonant in the nom.sg. of all genders, hence *nytt* 'useful' (but see §4.37). Other adjectives of the same structure include *midd* 'middle', *ġesybb* 'related'. Such adjectives have structures similar to that of light-stemmed *ja*-stem nouns, see §§3.39–41, and hence there is variation between a geminate consonant intervocalically and a single consonant elsewhere, e.g. *nyttes* gen.sg.masc. against *nyt* nom.sg.masc., *nytne* acc.sg.masc. This alternation can be accounted for by a straightforward rule of degemination.

4.37 The only issues concerning these adjectives which might cause difficulties concern the shape of the nom.sg. In the masc. and neut. forms, the most usual shape is with a single final consonant, although there are a number of examples with a geminate, e.g. *nytt*, notably in EWS, but also occasionally in other, later, texts. This variation is doubtless the result of orthographic influence of inflected upon uninflected forms rather than of gradualness in the implementation of the historical change of degemination of final consonants, see Hogg (1992b: §7.81). In the fem.sg. the lack of final *-u* is due to apocope, see §4.41.

(e) Nominative singular masculine in -u

4.38 Adjectives which have their nom.sg.masc. in *-u*, e.g. *ġearu* 'ready', are in origin *wa*-stems. Their paradigm in LWS is of the following type:[1]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	ġearu	ġearu	ġearu	ġearwe
Acc.	ġearone	ġearu	ġearwe	ġearwe
Gen.	ġearwes	ġearwes	ġearore	ġearora
Dat.	ġearwum	ġearwum	ġearore	ġearwum
(*Instr.*	ġearwe	ġearwe)		

Other nouns of this type include: *basu* 'purple', calu 'bald', *fealu* 'fallow', *ġeolu* 'yellow', *hasu* 'grey', *mearu* 'tender', *nearu* 'narrow', *salu* 'dusky'.[2]

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[1] On LWS variations from this paradigm, see §4.39.

[2] On *earu* 'quick', sometimes included here, see Toller (1921: **earu**).

4.39 The principal allomorphic variations in these nouns are between /u/ and /w/, e.g. *ġearu* ~ *ġearwe*, and between /u/ and /o/, e.g. *ġearu* ~ *ġearone*. Both of these can be simply accounted for by assuming the same type of underlying structure as for the equivalent nouns of the *as*-declension, e.g. *bearu* 'grove', where the stem has a structure with final *-w*, i.e. /jæ̆ɑrw/, see therefore the discussion of those nouns in §3.42. The variation between /u/ and /o/ occurs because unstressed /u/ is lowered medially, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.55ff.). Additionally, and particularly after the EWS period,[1] forms with epenthetic /u/ or /o/[2] between /w/ and the preceding consonant occur in a minority of examples, e.g. *ġearuwe*, *ġearowe*, again paralleling the situation in the equivalent nominal forms.[3] That the inserted /u/ or /o/ is the result of a phonological rule of epenthesis, see ibid.: §6.43, instead of analogical extension of the disyllabicity of the uninflected stem to inflected cases, is shown by epenthesized forms like *syrewung* 'treachery' (beside commoner *syrwung*) in which there is no possible analogical source for the added vowel.

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[1] For EWS, CP has *ġearuwe* 3× (alongside usual *ġearwe*).

[2] Ælfrician texts show both *-u-* and *-o-*, but they appear to prefer the latter.

[3] CP 433.30 has *ġearra*, *unġearra* gen.pl., apparently with medial syncope, but quite possibly due to scribal error.

(f) Nominative singular in -w

4.40 Adjectives which have nom.sg. in *-w* are, like those immediately above, historical *wa*-stems, but in this case the final segment of the root was a vowel or a diphthong. In these adjectives, *-w* should have been lost finally, but it is regularly restored in the same way as with parallel nouns, see §3.44. Examples of this group include *ġedēaw* 'dewy', *glēaw* 'wise', **hlēow* 'warm',[1] *hnēaw* 'illiberal', *hrēaw* 'raw', *rēow* 'fierce', *rōw* 'calm', *ġesēaw* 'juicy', *slāw* 'slow', *þēow* 'servile'. Like the parallel nouns, these adjectives regularly develop paradigms without allomorphic variation, with stem-final *-w-* before vocal endings reintroduced into the other cases, so that it appears in all inflected forms.[2]

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[1] Attested only in the definite (weak) form Ex 495 *unhlēowan* 'cold' acc.sg.masc.

[2] Exceptions are rare, as in OccGl 49.694, AldV (2×) *glēa*, Jul 480 *rēone*.

(g) Apocope

4.41 Apocope of final *-u* after a heavy syllable should occur in the nom.sg.fem. and nom.acc.pl.neut. of this declension. In dialects other than LWS, where restructuring of the system has taken place, see §4.43, such apocope proceeds quite regularly, and hence we find in relevant parts of the paradigm heavy-stemmed forms of the type *blind* 'blind' contrasting with light-stemmed *sumu* 'some' in the nom.sg.fem. and nom.acc.pl.neut. It is perhaps significant that heavy-stemmed adjectives considerably outnumber light-stemmed adjectives, and this numerical dominance of zero-inflected forms may have contributed to the LWS restructuring of the paradigm.

4.42 In a number of adjectival types, the synchronic rule of apocope interacts with other synchronic rules in a noteworthy fashion:

(a) Where the stem of the adjective ends in vowel or diphthong + [x], as with *hēah* 'high', then if the inflexion is *-u* the underlying form should be of the type /hæɑx+u/. The derivation then proceeds by way of lenition and loss of /x/ between voiced segments, giving /hæɑ+u/, and then apocope (which historically antecedes loss of hiatus in such forms) will occur after the heavy syllable, to give /hæɑ/, hence forms of the type *hēa*. The LWS restructured *hēah* for EWS *hēa* results from the developments discussed in §4.29&n2, probably with -Ø added to /hæɑɣ/ followed by final devoicing.
(b) Where the stem of the adjective ends in consonant + [x], as in *þweorh* 'crooked', then loss of [x] may involve compensatory lengthening of the preceding diphthong. If so, then apocope should occur and the resultant forms should be of the type *þwē̆or*, the usual form in LWS. But the *þwē̆oru*-type also occurs, which would be expected if there were no compensatory lengthening and the stem were thus light after loss of [x], see the discussion of this issue in Hogg (1992b: §5.127).
(c) Adjectives such as *wilde* 'wild', which have their nom.sg. in *-e*, do not show apocope of *-u*, hence *wildu*, etc.[1]

4.43 When in LWS there is restructuring of this declension so that there is no differentiation of gender in the nom.sg. or throughout the plural, there is consequently no difference in inflexion between heavy- and light-stemmed adjectives, so that the nom.sg.fem. of *blind* is *blind* and the nom.acc.pl. of *blind* is *blinde*, whilst the light-stemmed adjectives such as

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[1] This is because the underlying form of their stem is /wilde/, and hence at the time of application of apocope their structure is /wilde+u/, and apocope will not take place, but rather there is late *e*-deletion, see §3.34 for the comparable situation amongst nouns.

sum 'some' equally have *sum*, *sume*. In this restructuring, any rule of apocope has simply become irrelevant to the declension of adjectives. Compare how apocope has lost its phonological conditioning, apparently, in the declension of nouns, see §3.72.

(h) Disyllabic and polysyllabic stems

4.44 Disyllabic adjectives may be grouped into a variety of types, according to the nature of the second syllable:

(a) where the second syllable consists historically of a syllabic sonorant, as in *biter* 'bitter', *efen* 'even', *fæġer* 'fair',[1] *hlūtor* 'pure', *wacor* 'wakeful';
(b) where the second syllable consists historically of a vowel + sonorant; this type includes words in which the second syllable is suffixal, as with *atol* 'terrible', *lȳtel* 'little', *miċel* 'great', *yfel* 'evil', all with *-el*, *-ol*; *gylden* 'golden', *hǣþen* 'heathen', with *-en* < **-īn-*;[2] and *āgen* 'own', *fæġen* 'glad', *open* 'open', with the suffix *-en* < **-an-* of the past participle;
(c) where the second syllable consists historically of a vowel + approximant; this type consists exclusively of words with suffixal *-iġ* of whatever origin (Gmc. **-īʒ-* or **-aʒ-*), hence *dysiġ* 'foolish', *hāliġ* 'holy', *hefiġ* 'heavy', *moniġ* 'many';
(d) where the second syllable consists historically of a vowel + obstruent, as in *arod* 'quick', *forod* 'broken', *fracoþ* 'wicked', *nacod* 'naked';
(e) where the second syllable is heavy, as with, for example, the suffix *-iht* in *stāniht* 'stony' or the present participle in *-ende*.

Adjectives formed with nom.sg. in *-e* are discussed in §§4.31–5. Those formed with rather distinct derivational suffixes like *-liċ* and *-leas* present special problems and are discussed in §4.52. In addition, there are three groups of disyllabics which are best characterized morphologically, namely the strong past participle in *-en*, the weak I past participle in *-ed* and the weak II past participle in *-od*. Since the morphological behaviour of these past participles is sometimes different from that of other disyllabics, they are discussed separately below in §§4.53–6.

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[1] An Angl form *fēġer* occurs with a long root vowel: see Sievers (1885: 498–9), Fulk (1992: §355.3).

[2] But all such forms frequently fail to show *i*-umlaut, e.g. *lēaden* 'of lead', *stānen* 'stony', see Hogg (1992b: §5.85(10a)).

4.45 The most straightforward of the types listed in §4.44 is type (e), in which the second syllable is heavy, for such adjectives simply add the regular inflexions to their stem without significant allomorphic variation except for the phonologically regular apocope of *-u* where appropriate. The same also appears to be true for type (d) adjectives such as *nacod*, where again the inflexions are added directly to the stem and where apocope applies as elsewhere.[1] It should be noted that syncope of the vowel of the second syllable never occurs in either of these two types.

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[1] See §§4.41–3 for discussion of apocope.

4.46 The typical LWS paradigm of *hāliġ* 'holy, an adjective of type (c), when declined indefinite, is as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	hāliġ	hāliġ	hāliġ	hāliġe
Acc.	hāliġne	hāliġ	hāliġ	hāliġe
Gen.	hāliġes	hāliġes	hāliġre	hāliġra
Dat.	hālgum	hālgum	hālgum	hālgum

Such forms are almost invariable in the best Ælfrician texts,[1] see §4.77n2, although some examples of syncopated gen.dat.sg., nom.acc.pl., i.e. *hālġes*, *hālġe*, can be found in non-Ælfrician LWS texts. Note that syncope applies only when an inflexion beginning with a back vowel is added. Pope (1967–8: I, 185) accordingly argues that the <i> in forms like *hāliġes* is merely a diacritic indicating the palatal nature of the following consonant, but cf. §4.47n1. Other adjectives of type (c) are declined similarly, except that syncope is rare in any form, hence dat. pl. *ēadigum* 'fortunate', *ælmihtigum* 'almighty', etc. In eME, Orm similarly treats *haliȝ*, inflected *hallȝhe*, differently from other adjectives in *-iȝ*, see Fulk (1992: §190n12). For differences between this paradigm and that in EWS and Angl dialects, see §4.48. Examples of adjectives of this type include *æfstiġ* 'envious', *ǣniġ* 'any', *blōdiġ* 'bloody', *cystiġ* 'generous', *ēadiġ* 'fortunate', *grǣdiġ* 'greedy', *gyltiġ* 'guilty', *hungriġ* 'hungry', *mēðiġ* 'weary', *mihtiġ* 'powerful', *mōdiġ* 'brave', *ġemyndiġ* 'mindful', *sāriġ* 'sorry', *ġesǣliġ* 'blessed', *sċyldiġ* 'guilty', *spēdiġ* 'prosperous', *swātiġ* 'sweaty', *syndriġ* 'separate', *synniġ* 'sinful', *ġeþyldiġ* 'patient', *wēriġ* 'weary', *wintriġ* 'wintry', *wyrðiġ* 'worthy', all with a heavy first syllable, and *dysiġ* 'foolish', *hefiġ* 'heavy', *lytiġ* 'cunning', *weliġ* 'wealthy', *wlitiġ* 'beautiful', all with a light first syllable.

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[1] A similar pattern of distribution occurs with the definite (weak) declension, see further §4.60(e). Exceptions such as ÆCHom I 358.32 *hālġe*, nom.sg.fem. definite, are rare.

4.47 The paradigm in §4.46 differs from the historically expected paradigm in the forms *hāliġes*, *hāliġe*, where the normal operation of syncope would have been expected to produce *hālġes*, *hālġe*, since, historically, syncope occurred in open syllables and affected all non-high vowels and also high vowels when preceded by a heavy syllable, see for details Hogg (1992b: §§6.14–19). In most poetry, forms like *hāliġes* must sometimes be scanned as disyllables, no matter how they are written, presumably because of the apparent derivation of most extant poems from Angl originals. In poems known to be of West Saxon origin, and in some seemingly late Angl poetry, the unsyncopated vowel in such forms must be scanned as a metrical syllable, e.g. Met 20.163 *ǣniġe* 'any' acc.sg.fem. (trisyllabic), Jud 245 -*wērigum* 'weary' dat.pl. (trisyllabic), though words that must be scanned as if the vowel were syncopated are also in evidence, e.g. Met 26.115, 31.22 *ǣniġes* 'any' gen.sg.masc. (disyllabic).[1] Given the conservative nature of poetic language and the restriction of the syllabic scansion to relatively late poetry, it seems likely that forms like *hāliġes* did undergo syncope but ultimately restored the syncopated vowel by analogy to uninflected forms, see ibid.: §§6.16, 7.76n2. On the other hand, it is not impossible that forms in WS poetry without restoration of the syncopated vowel are due to imitation of Angl or archaic models, an undeniable occurrence in regard to some other poetic features.[2] If that is so, it would be possible to argue that in the type *hāliġe*, syncope failed to take place in WS because the medial /i/ was protected by the immediately following palatal /j/. In that event the historical rule of syncope would need to be revised to take account of this, and the synchronic rule of syncope which applies in these cases would be a direct reflex of the historical change.[3] There are reasons, however, to prefer the explanation on the basis of analogical restoration of the syncopated vowel.[4] Where an adjective with a heavy first syllable ends with a consonant cluster, then it is often the case that syncope is prevented even in the dat.sg.pl. if an unusual consonant cluster would arise, hence usual *mihtigum*, etc., is almost exceptionless. If the first syllable is light, then it might be expected that syncope would never occur, and indeed exceptions are rare.[5]

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[1] See Fulk (1992: §§216–20), with references. In view of such metrical evidence, it is necessary to discount the possibility suggested by Pope (1967–8: I, 184–5) that *i* in forms like *hāliġes* is merely a diacritic indicating the palatal nature of *ġ* rather than an actual syllable nucleus. Cf. Men 68 *hāliġe* acc.pl.masc. (trisyllabic).

[2] Thus, for example, unsyncopated forms of strong verbs in the 1st and 2nd persons sg. of the pres.ind. are not uncommon in the poetry, unlike the prose, of King Alfred.

[3] This is the conclusion at which RMH ultimately arrived, rejecting the account given in Hogg (1992b: §6.16, also §7.76n2), and also Pope (1967–8: I, 184–5).

[4] Analogy is required to account for unsyncopated vowels in a range of other suffixes and stems in LWS texts, and these restored vowels, too, may be required by the metre of some late poems, e.g. Met 13.30 *āgenes* 'own' (trisyllabic), Mald 109 *ġegrundene* 'ground' (tetrasyllabic), MSol 112 *wuldores* 'glory' (trisyllabic). Known processes in the language thus account for the phenomenon in connexion with the adj. suffix -*iġ*-, and, by Occam's razor, further complication of the grammar is undesirable.

[5] We have not noted any such exceptions in Ælfric.

4.48 The LWS paradigm given in §4.46 is generally applicable to EWS also, although a minority of forms show syncope, whereas this is rare in LWS, hence CP 467.32 *hālġe*, 451.25 *ǣnġes*, see for full details Cosijn (1886: §42).[1] On the other hand, Angl texts usually show syncope in open syllables throughout the paradigm, although a minority of unsyncopated forms occur. A further characteristic of these adjectives is the shape of forms with which inflexional *-u* occurs. It might be expected that *-u* would be apocopated after two light syllables but retained after a heavy and a light syllable. In fact, however, apocope usually does not apply even after two light syllables, hence examples such as CP *manegu* (2×), PsGl(A) 109.6 *monigu*,[2] Li *monigo* (frequent). This is in striking contrast to the situation with nouns, in which apocope is usually extended, see, for example, §§3.63–5.

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[1] This is not the impression which a cursory reading of the standard handbooks might suggest, but a closer reading of, say, Campbell (1977: §643.5), Brunner (1965: §296&A2) will show that this situation is at least in part recognized.

[2] Alongside 21.13 *moniġ* with apocope. *Monigu* appears to be an analogical creation by pairing with its antonym *lȳtelu* and under the influence of heavy-stemmed adjectives in *-iġ*, which regularly add *-u* in PsGl(A): see Fulk (2010c: 135–6).

4.49 In LWS, adjectives of type (b) mostly show no syncope regardless of the following inflexion, and hence the normal inflexions of this declension are simply added directly to the stem. This appears to be true both of adjectives with an initial heavy syllable such as *gylden* 'golden', *hǣþen* 'heathen' and of those with an initial light syllable, such as *atol* 'terrible', *fæġen* 'glad', *open* 'open', *swutol*, *swutel* 'clear', *yfel* 'evil', regardless of whether the second syllable was suffixal or from some other source, see §4.44. There are, however, some common adjectives which depart from the above pattern. Thus, amongst those with an initial heavy syllable, *lȳtel* 'little' appears always with syncope in Ælfric, and with an initial light syllable *miċel* 'great' varies between syncopated and unsyncopated forms.[1]

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[1] When *miċel* undergoes syncope, then *ċ* is often geminated by the immediately following liquid, after deaffrication giving *miccle*, etc. (For details of such gemination, see Hogg (1992b: §7.78).) Whether *ċ* was actually deaffricated when it came into contact with the following consonant cannot be determined with certainty. One piece of evidence for such deaffrication is the fact that in some texts, esp. PsGl(E) and Li, *miċel* is frequently spelt with <ch> when *-el(-)* follows, but never when *-l-* follows.

4.50 The adjectives of type (a) which correspond to the type (b) adjectives except in that their second syllable historically consists only of a syllabic sonorant appear in LWS mostly to decline similarly to the type (b) adjectives. This is especially true of those with an initial light syllable in the stem, such as *biter* 'bitter', *fæġer* 'fair', where unepenthesized forms with vocalic inflexions, for example *fæġre*, are in a minority. Where the initial syllable is heavy, on the other hand, as in *hlūttor* 'pure',[1] epenthesis in forms with vocalic inflexions is rarely found.[2] The above distribution suggests that the adjectives with a light initial syllable have been restructured with an epenthetic vowel in the underlying form of the stem, thus assimilating to the type (b) adjectives of §4.49. On the other hand, the adjectives with a heavy initial syllable may best be considered as having underlying forms with a non-syllabic sonorant, excepting, perhaps, /r/, see §3.65.[3] The underlying forms of such disyllabic adjectives would then parallel in most ways those of the disyllabic nouns of the *as*- and *a*-declensions, see §§3.56–72, 3.100–4.

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[1] Note that *tt* is due to gemination by the following liquid, cf. §4.49n1. In Ælfric, spellings of the type *hlūtor* are infrequent.

[2] Naturally, however, an epenthetic vowel is found in forms in which the inflexion begins with a consonant. It should also be noted that in instances in which the sonorant is identical to the initial consonant of the inflexion, then degemination in unstressed syllables can occur. The frequency of such degemination is higher in later texts than in earlier texts, see Hogg (1992b: §7.80).

[3] This may account for the fact that Ælfrician texts regularly spell all forms of *biter* with a single medial consonant, in contrast with *hlūttor* discussed in n1 above.

4.51 In EWS and non-Ælfrician LWS the situation regarding both type (a) and type (b) adjectives is more variable than in Ælfric, with considerable mixture of syncopated and unsyncopated stems before vocalic endings.[1] In Angl, on the other hand, what we generally find is that, with relatively few exceptions, there is syncope in both type (a) and type (b) adjectives, regardless of whether the initial syllable is heavy or light, when a vocalic inflexion follows, e.g. PsGl(A), Li *micle* 'great', *yfle* 'bad', *lȳtle* 'little'; cf. the similar treatment of nouns, §3.68. The most regular exception is that very often syncope fails when the inflexion is *-u*, as with the comparable nouns, see §3.64 as regards the situation in PsGl(A). Thus, it seems likely that adjectives of types (a) and (b) were restructured in Angl in much the same way that comparable nouns were restructured, see §§3.71, 3.104: all such adjective stems became underlyingly monosyllabic, except in PsGl(A), where (presumably, given the evidence of nouns of similar structure) the original distinction was maintained between types (a) and (b) when the initial syllable was heavy. There do not happen to be in PsGl(A) any stems of type (a) with a heavy syllable before the final sonorant in the proper case to show apocope of *-u* as against examples of type (b) without apocope, e.g. *lȳtelu* nom.pl.neut.

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[1] For specifics of the situation in EWS, see Cosijn (1886: §§40–2).

4.52 Adjectives formed with rather distinct derivational suffixes like *-leas* and *-liċ* are not entirely uniform in their treatment. Those formed with heavy suffixes ending in two consonants, such as *-cund*, *-fæst*, *-fald*, *-full*, are inflected the same way as heavy monosyllabic stems, so that, for example, *-u* is missing in the fem.nom.sg. and neut.nom.acc.pl. Heavy suffixes like *-lēas-*, formed with an etymologically long vowel or diphthong and a single final consonant, however, should be expected to have undergone vowel shortening when final, see Hogg (1992b: §2.89). In medial syllables, however, *-lēas-* should have retained its long diphthong, and this explains why adjectives in *-leas* never bear the inflexion *-u* in the fem.nom.sg. and neut. nom.acc.pl., where it should have been apocopated after a heavy syllable. The prescription of ibid.: §2.89 as regards shortening in unstressed syllables, however, must be treated with caution, since there is ample evidence from ME that vowels thus shortened were often subsequently restored on an analogical basis.[1] This observation has particular relevance to the adjective suffix *-liċ*.[2] The vowel was originally long,[3] but it should have been shortened in uninflected forms, e.g. *sċandliċ* 'shameful'. However, a short vowel seems to have been used throughout the paradigm at an early date: unlike *-lēas-*, the suffix *-lic-* is well attested with the inflexion *-u* (though of course never in Ælfric, since adjectival *-u* never appears in Ælfrician texts, see §4.29); and spellings like CP 14.83.22 *mislecum* dat.pl. and GenA 884 *frēolucu* nom.sg.fem. presuppose a short vowel. When the suffix follows an unstressed syllable, on the other hand, it should be stressed and thus impervious to shortening, e.g. LS 7.276 *earfoðlīċ* 'difficult'.[4] In lOE, however, it appears that the short vowel was replaced by the long one throughout the paradigm. This explains the absence of variants like *-lec-*, *-luc-* in Ælfric, as well Orm's *e(o)rþlic*, *flæshlic*, *gastlic*, etc.[5] That the suffix *-sum*, like *-līċ*, never bears the inflexion *-u* in Ælfric is no counterevidence, since the adjective suffix *-u* is nowhere in use in Ælfric, see §4.29. Thus, to ÆHex 428, ÆCreat 181 *wynsum wunung*, compare LS 25 (MichaelMor) 217 *wynsumu*.

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[1] Thus, for example, Orm has usually *-læs* (*are-*, *ellen*, *eȝȝe-*, etc.) beside only *endeless*; likewise *-fald* (*an-*, *fif-*, *þre-*, *twi-*), with lengthening before the homorganic consonant cluster, beside *-warrd* (*affterr-*, *dunn-*, etc.) and *godcunnde* without it. There is supporting evidence in nominal suffixes, e.g. *-dom* (*heþenn-*, *haliȝ-*, *wiss-*, etc.). See Fulk (1992: §213; 2002: 82–3n3).

[2] On the derivation, see Dishington (1981).

[3] It is always long in the adverb suffix *-līċe*, though it is short in comparative forms of adverbs, see §4.77n2. The lOE extension, mentioned below, of the long vowel to all adjective forms may thus be attributed to preservation of the long vowel both in adjective forms like *earfoðlīċ* and in adverbs.

[4] It is impossible to determine for certain whether the vowel should be long in a form like *heofonliċ* 'heavenly', with a resolvable first constituent metrically equivalent to a single heavy, stressed syllable (just the way two light syllables function in the same manner as one heavy with respect to the syncope of high vowels, e.g. with loss of *-u* in the neuter plurals *word* 'words' and *werod* 'troops'). But forms like BedeHead 4.18.22 *heofonlicu* are not uncommon, and they suggest that the vowel of the suffix was not long in such forms, as then we might expect high vowel apocope.

[5] For discussion, see Fulk (1992: §§221–5, of which Calle Martín and Miranda García, 2000, seem to have been unaware), where it is also pointed out that whilst there is evidence for a short vowel in poems that appear to have been composed relatively early, there is none in later poems.

(i) Past participles

4.53 The past or passive participles which equate to the disyllabic adjectives discussed in §§4.44–52 are of three types: the strong participle in *-en*, the weak I participle in *-ed* and the weak II participle in *-od*.[1] Each of these participles has a slightly different pattern of morphology from the others, and therefore they are discussed separately in §§4.54–6 below.

[1] Not relevant here are the weak past participles without medial vowel of the type *worhte* 'worked', *sealde* 'given', see §6.100.

4.54 Strong participles in *-en* regularly appear in LWS without syncope, e.g. *aworpene* 'cast out', *behātene* 'promised', *beswicene* 'deceived', *ġebundene* 'bound', *ġehealdene* 'kept', and many others which in Ælfric are not found in syncopated form.[1] In EWS texts the situation is more variable, for there syncope is found in a significant minority of examples, e.g. in CP *ġebundne* (9×) against *ġebundene* (7×), 245.26 *aworpne*, 403.14 *ġehealdne*, but only *beswicene* with a light root syllable. Outside WS, syncope is frequent in PsGl(A) but much less so in Ru1, whilst it is more common in Ru2 and less common in Li. The situation is therefore broadly parallel to that found in the disyllabic adjectives of similar structure, see §4.49, although, overall, syncope is less widely found with the participles. There may have been greater pressure to eliminate allomorphic variation here, by failing to allow the rule of syncope to apply, because of the dominance of the uninflected and unsyncopated form of the participle, cf. §4.55.

[1] The same generally applies in other LWS texts, including Wulfstan, though syncopated forms occur in LWS texts that show Angl characteristics, such as the Blickling and Vercelli homilies.

4.55 Weak I participles in *-ed* normally show syncope only after heavy syllables, e.g. *ġedēmde* 'judged' vs. *ġefremede* 'furthered'. In the historical development of these forms the medial vowel was /i/ at the time of syncope, see further §6.82, and hence syncope is the expected development. Presumably, therefore, the synchronic analysis of these participles must start from the premise that the underlying medial vowel remains as /i/. In some WS texts, notably in Ælfric and frequently but less regularly in the earlier CP, Or, syncope is extended to uninflected forms of the participle when the stem ends in a dental stop, e.g. *afēd(d)* 'brought up', *ġelǣd(d)* 'led' rather than *afēded*, *ġelǣded*, see §6.93. Other WS texts, however, including GD, seem to prefer the unsyncopated forms, and this is true of nWS texts also. Although this phenomenon is usually regarded as an analogical extension of syncope, e.g. in Campbell (1977: §§351n2, 644(d)), Brunner (1965: §402.2), which synchronically might be regarded as a restructuring of the underlying form without any medial vowel, both these explanations may be misleading. It may be that *afēd*, etc., are not examples of syncope in the normal sense but rather of deletion of the medial vowel and (usually) simplification of the resultant consonant cluster in order to avoid repetition of the dental consonant. It might therefore be regarded as a product of the impulse to dissimilation evident elsewhere in the grammar, see Hogg (1992b: §6.64) and §6.71 below.

4.56 Weak II participles in *-od* do not show syncope and hence are of the type *ġelufod* 'loved'. If it is assumed that the underlying medial vowel is /o/, then this is not easily explicable, since /o/ would be subject to non-high vowel syncope. Even if the underlying vowel were assumed to be /u/, high vowel syncope would occur after heavy syllables, but this is not found, e.g. *ġewundode* 'wounded'. This has led some, such as McCully and Hogg (1990: 332), to suggest that synchronically the medial vowel of these forms must have been /oː/, which would directly reflect their historical origin. Such a suggestion, although it may receive support from stress patterns, remains unproven.[1]

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[1] The synchronic situation is unclear. For a discussion of the diachronic issues, see Fulk (1992: §228).

III Definite (weak) adjectives

1 *Historical origins and inflexions*

4.57 The definite (weak) adjective declension was formed in PGmc by the addition of the inflexions of the *ōn*-stem nouns, see §§2.84–5, to the stem of the indefinite adjective, and thus the development in OE is to a set of inflexions which correspond closely to the inflexions of the synchronic *an*-declension, see §§3.106–9. The principal exception to this formulation is the shape of the gen.pl., which is usually *-ra*, i.e. identical to the gen.pl. inflexion of the indefinite declension, see §§4.13, 4.15. Thus, we most often find a paradigm of the following type for this declension:[1]

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**	**Plural**
Nom.	blinda *blind*	blinde	blinde	blindan
Acc.	blindan	blinde	blindan	blindan
Gen.	blindan	blindan	blindan	blindra
Dat.	blindan	blindan	blindan	blindum

[1] In contrast to the situation with indefinite adjectives, it is not possible to trace a separate instrumental case for the definite adjectives.

4.58 There are a small number of dialectal variations in inflexion, of which the following are the most important:

(1) In EWS the gen.pl. is always taken from the *an*-declension and is mainly of the form *-ena*, although many examples of *-ana* co-occur; for a full list, see Cosijn (1886: §51). In LWS and Angl, however, this ending is rare, and it is notable that it is entirely absent from PsGl(A), which suggests that EWS was conservative in respect of the form of this inflexion. Very rarely there occur LWS forms in *-an*.[1]

(2) It is in this declension that the dat.pl. of adjectives is first frequently found as *-an*. Already such forms are frequent in EWS, see Hogg (1992b: §7.102). However, it is doubtful whether LWS texts use dat.pl. *-an* more frequently in this declension than elsewhere, although this may simply testify to quasi-historical orthographic convention.

(3) In Nbr, loss of final *-n*, see ibid.: §§7.98–100, together with the falling together of unstressed vowels, can cause some confusion between indefinite and definite inflexions, so that, for example, there appears to be no distinction in lNbr between indefinite and definite forms of the nom.acc.pl. A further noteworthy feature of Nbr inflexion in this declension is the use of gen.sg. *-es*, as in JnGl(Li) 11.37 *blindes*; cf. §§3.75, 3.78, 3.108.

[1] Hoad (1994) identifies several secure examples, including ÆCHom I 40 610.11 *foresǣdan* and ÆLS (Julian and Basilissa) 432 *hālgan*.

4.59 It is important to remember that these inflexions are added to the stem of the indefinite adjective, regardless of the historical formation of the original adjective. Thus, inflexions are added to a structure which includes the OE reflex of PIE stem-forming suffixes. Indefinite and definite pairs of this type include, for example, *midd* ~ *midda* ‘mid’, *wilde* ~ *wilda* ‘wild’, *blīþe* ~ *blīþa* ‘joyful’, *heard* ~ *hearda* ‘hard’, *ġearu* ~ *ġearwa* ‘ready’; see §§4.4–8 for discussion of the historical stem types which existed in PGmc and their development into OE.

2 *Allomorphic variation*

4.60 The types of allomorphic variation found in the indefinite declension and discussed in §§4.20–55 apply equally to the definite declension, and therefore they require no special discussion here. Only a few potentially confusing matters need be mentioned:

(a) Adjectives of the type *hwæt* 'active', which, when indefinite, have *a* in open syllables, for discussion of the phenomenon see §§4.22–4, show the same distribution when definite, e.g. *blace* 'black' nom.sg.fem.

(b) In those texts, particularly in LWS, in which *hēah* is restructured as /hæɑɣ/, see §§4.25ff., this declension has parallel forms of the type *hēaga*.

(c) Adjectives with stem-final *-e*, e.g. *wilde* 'wild', may be assumed also to have stem-final *-e* in this declension, although it will always be deleted, since every inflexion starts with a vowel.

(d) Adjectives with stem-final *-w*, when indefinite, show *-u* in word-final position or *-o* medially before consonants, as in *ġearu* 'ready', see §§4.38–9, but no such allomorphic variation should occur in the definite declension except in the genitive plural (in which, however, there are no relevant definite forms attested), since otherwise /w/ is always followed by a vowel and hence remains, thus *ġearwa* and forms 'ready'.[1]

(e) In the best Ælfrician texts, see §4.77n2, definite forms of *hāliġ* 'holy' have syncope before inflexions beginning with back vowels but not front vowels, hence, generally, *hālgan*, but nom.sg.fem.&neut. *hāliġe*. The rule does not apply to other adjectives in *-iġ*, e.g. *sǣligan* 'blessed', *wurðigan* 'worthy'. The pattern thus resembles that found in the definite adjectives, §4.46.

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[1] As in other declensions, /w/ remains even before /u/, so that we find dat.pl. *ġearwum*, etc.

IV Comparison of adjectives

1 *Historical origins*

4.61 The PGmc comparative and superlative were formed by a comparative morpheme to which was added an additional suffix in the case of the comparative itself, the superlative being formed by the addition of the superlative suffix to the bare comparative. The comparative morpheme which Gmc inherited from PIE was **-iz-* < **-is-* by Verner's Law (see Hogg 1992b: §§4.4–5), but in Gmc an alternative morpheme **-ōz-* arose.[1] In Gothic, the two types are equally common, but in all other Gmc languages the latter form comes to predominate. The crucial difference between the two formations as far as OE is concerned is that the former causes *i*-umlaut whilst the latter does not, see §§4.68–71 for discussion and examples. The suffix which is attached to one or other of these morphemes in the comparative degree is **-on-*, **-en-* from the *n*-stems, which gives in Pre-OE the combined suffix **-ōzan*, **-izan*. The origin of the suffix in the *n*-stems explains why the comparative adjective is always declined as a definite, see §4.2, even though comparatives may be used in syntactically indefinite constructions, e.g. And 1088 *beteran rǣd* ‘a better plan’. The superlative morpheme inherited in Gmc was PIE **-to-*, and thus the combined suffix in Pre-OE would have been **-ōsta-*, **-ista-* (where **t* prevented the voicing of PIE **s*). Except in the nom.sg. (and consequently acc.sg.neut.), the superlative is most frequently declined as definite. It is virtually certain that all adjectives used the same comparative morpheme in the construction of their comparative and superlative forms: that is, adjectives with comparatives in **-iz-* formed the superlative with **-isto-*, those with comparatives in **-ōz-* formed the superlative with **-ōsto-*.[2,3]

[1] The precise origin of this morpheme is not relevant here, although it appears to be related to adverbial formations in **-ō*. For discussion see, for example, Hirt (1932: §83), Prokosch (1939: §91) and the further references in each.

[2] This, of course, would accord with common sense, but it is also noteworthy that even in Gothic, the language in which a mixture of morphemes would be most likely to occur, there are no such mixed examples, see Wright (1954: §244).

[3] There is some variation in a few adjectives, whereby the older form of the superlative is lost in favour of the type with **-ōst-*, see §4.69(2).

4.62 The principal comparative suffix in OE, as described in §4.61, originates in PGmc **-ōzan*, and the predicted development to OE would give ***-ara*, but this never occurs, and instead the regular form is the apparently syncopated *-ra* added directly to the stem of the adjective, hence *blindra* from *blind* ‘blind’. Such syncope of an historically long vowel, i.e. **blindōrōo* > *blindra*, is entirely unexpected, and so the consistency of syncope here cannot easily be justified on purely phonological grounds.[1] Campbell (1977: §660) suggests that the construction may be on the analogy of adjectives with their comparative formed according to the PIE method, namely with suffixal **-izan*, in which syncope of the short medial vowel would occur regularly to give *-ra*. This solution, which appears to be the most profitable, is nevertheless not without problems and cannot be regarded as definitive.[2] Yet further analogical pressure may have been exerted from within the paradigm itself: before the *n*-stem endings containing **-ū̆-* (masc.&fem.acc. sg.&pl., dat.pl. of all genders, see §2.84),[3] the comparative suffix **-ōz-* should have changed to **-ūz-*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34), in which the vowel would be subject to shortening and syncope in Pre-OE.[4] Thus, it may be assumed that in some cases attachment of the comparative suffix in *-r-* without a preceding vowel and without *i*-umlaut is etymologically correct, and such forms would have exerted pressure to regularize the paradigm by replacing endings in **-ar-* with ones in *-r-*. On this analogical development, see further §4.63n1.

[1] Nor, as Campbell (1977: §660) clearly points out, can it be justified on comparative grounds, since the other Gmc languages all retain the medial vowel in one form or another, though in Old Frisian *-er-* and *-r-* co-occur, see Bremmer (2009: 66).

[2] In particular, Campbell has to argue that in Pre-OE, **-ir-* was commoner than (or at least as common as) **-ōr-*, on the reasonable assumption that the analogy is based on the unmarked suffix. But the prevalence of forms derived from **-ōr-* in all the Gmc dialects except Gothic suggests that this suffix had become dominant during the time of the NWGmc unity, on which see Hogg (1992b: §1.3). It is also not clear whether the analogical process is extension of syncope, as suggested by Campbell, or shortening of *-ō-* to parallel *-i-*, which would be equally possible. A further difficulty arises with respect to *i*-umlaut, but this is discussed in §4.69. Finally it should be noted that if this is an analogical process, it is confined to OE, and therefore it is surprising that there are no examples surviving which show failure of the analogical process.

[3] It must be noted, however, that the account offered here is based upon the assumption that after the PGmc inflexions masc.acc.sg. **-um*, etc., caused raising of **ō̆* to **ū̆* in the preceding *n*-suffix, the **ū̆* thereby created in turn caused raising of **ō* to **ū* in the preceding *z*-suffix, e.g. **harð-ōz-on-um* > **harð-ōz-un-um* > **harð-ūz-un-um*, and although the first step in this line of development is well attested, the latter step appears to be impossible to prove or to disprove by reference to parallels in either West or North Gmc.

[4] See Hogg (1992b: §§6.28, 6.18). There is some controversy about whether medial *ī* and *ū* were shortened early enough to undergo syncope in all the same environments as originally short *i* and *u*, see Fulk (1992: §§187–93), with references. But the assumption of syncope in the present instance should be uncontroversial: it may be compared to the syncope of original **ī* in forms like PsGl(A) *gyldnum* 'golden' dat.pl., from **ʒulðīnumiz*.

4.63 The principal superlative suffix in OE, as described in §4.61, originates in PGmc **-ōsta*, and this would give in OE either *-ust* or *-ast*; *-ust* would then develop to *-ost*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34) for explanation and details.[1] The definite form of the nom.sg. has, of course, a final inflexional *-a*, giving the shape *-osta*, and in these conditions the unstressed medial vowel may then further reduce to give *-esta*, cf. ibid.: §6.64. Such forms may then influence the endingless indefinite forms. For details of the distribution of the variant forms of the suffix, see further §§4.66ff.

[1] Although the developments appear straightforward from an OE point of view, it should be clear from Hogg (1992b: §3.34) that PGmc **-ōsta* should develop as *-ast* except before **-u-*, where it becomes *-ust*. In indefinite adjectives, the change to *-ust* would happen in the masc.&neut.dat.sg., in definite adjectives in the same cases discussed in §4.62, if the account given in §4.62n3 is correct. The commonest form of the suffix in OE, *-ust*/*-ost*, thus appears to have been generalized from these cases, and this renders it more natural that the OE comparative suffix in *-r-*, as opposed to ***-ar-*, should have been generalized from the same definite cases. But cf. §4.67.

4.64 There are two minor forms of comparison, which are as follows:

(1) When compared adjectives are derived from adverbs, the superl. is most often formed by the suffix *-mest*, as with *innemest* 'innermost'

superl. of adverb *inne* 'inside', although there is a smaller, but older, de-adverbial group exemplified by *ǣrra*, *ǣrest* 'earlier, earliest'; for examples and discussion of both types, see §§4.72–4.

(2) Four adjectives of high frequency, being two semantically related pairs, form their comparative and superlative by suppletion. These adjectives are:

gōd *good*	bet(e)ra	bet(e)st, best
	sēlra, sella	sēlest
yfel *evil*	wyrsa	wyrst, wyrrest
lȳtel *little*	lǣssa	lǣst, lǣsest[1]
miċel *great*	māra	mǣst

Of these suppletive forms *bet(e)ra*, *bet(e)st* and *sēlra*, *sēlest* can both be found in a wide variety of texts, although the former pair predominate in prose, the latter pair in poetry.[2] On the phonological variations in these forms, see §4.71.

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[1] See §4.71 on LawAbt 56 *lǣrestan*.

[2] Note the alternative glossing of Lat *melior* at MtGl(Li) 12.12 *betra ł sella*.

2 *Variation in Old English*

4.65 The nom.sg.masc. of the usual OE comparative, formed according to the principles outlined in §4.62, is of the type *blindra* from positive *blind*, and, by coincidence only, this is identical in shape to the gen.pl. of the positive. The nom.sg.masc. of the usual OE superlative is formed by the addition of the superl. suffix directly to the stem, hence *blind* ~ *blindost*. The principal allomorphic variations found in comparison are identical to those found in the positive forms of the same adjectives, and hence we find nominatives of the following subtypes, arranged according to their order of discussion in §§4.21–52, with the addition, for comparison, of the regular forms of *blind*:[1,2]

Positive	**Comparative**	**Superlative**
blind *blind*	blindra	blindost/blindesta
hwæt *active*	hwætra	hwatost/hwatesta
wilde *wild*	wildra	wildost/wildesta
blīþe *joyful*	blīþra	blīþost/blīþesta
nyt(t) *useful*	nyttra	nyttost/nyttesta[3]
ġearu *ready*	ġearora[4]	ġearwost/ġearwesta
glēaw *wise*	glēawra	glēawost/glēawesta
biter *bitter*	bittera[5]	biterost/biteresta
hāliġ *holy*	hāliġra	hālgost/hālgesta

[1] For the superlative we give both the indefinite and definite forms of the nom.sg. Given the relative infrequency of superlative forms, many of the examples are hypothetical.

[2] For comparative and superlative forms of *hēah* 'high', see §§4.68–9.

[3] *Nyt(t)* declines like *midd* 'middle', which generally lacks compared forms.

[4] WHom 15.57 has *ġearwre*, and LawICn 19.2 *ġearuwre*, which may be re-formations from adverbial *ġearwe*. On CP *ġearran*, *ġearra* see §4.39n3.

[5] Found only in Alex 233 *bitterre* nom.sg.neut.

4.66 The commonest shape of the superlative suffix in most dialects is *-est(-)* even when uninflected, and in PsGl(A) no other forms are found.[1] As indicated above in §4.63, *-est* is due to reduction of the unstressed vowel in medial position, e.g. *lēofosta* 'dearest' > *lēofesta*.[2] The unreduced superlative *-ost* has two principal variant forms, namely *-ust*, *-ast*. The first of these is explicable as the earlier form of the unstressed high back vowel derived from PGmc **-ūst-* by shortening. The second form *-ast* is to be derived from PGmc **-ōst-*, which would give *-ast* by lowering and shortening; for the development of both forms see firstly Hogg (1992b: §3.34). Alongside the more frequent *-ost*, both *-ust* and *-ast* are sometimes found in EWS, but neither is frequent in LWS. Nbr shows both *-ost* and *-ust*, whilst Kt has *-ast* in early charters, but the later OccGl 49 has forms only in *-est*.

[1] Ru1 offers no direct evidence.

[2] There is a tendency in WS, though it is by no means a firm rule, to write *-est-* when a back vowel follows, see Hogg (1992b: §6.64). Similar vowel dissimilation is in evidence in PsGl(A), but not in connexion with this suffix, which is always *-est-* there.

4.67 It should noted that the morpheme *-ust*/*-ost* is the result of a somewhat unexpected development. As explained in Hogg (1992b: §3.34), the initial vowel of the morpheme is from PGmc */oː/, a vowel which was subject to raising before either */u/ or */m/, as in **ʒeƀōmiz* > **ʒeƀūmiz* > *ġyfum* 'gifts' dat.pl, but elsewhere it remained. This would permit, after the lowering of /u/ and /o/ in most unstressed positions, see ibid.: §§6.28, 6.55, an alternation between *o* and *a*. Thus, the superlative morpheme *-ust*/*-ost* must be the consequence of such Gmc raising, whilst the alternative *-ast* fails to undergo such raising. The number of case-forms in which /oː/ should have been raised is limited, certainly a minority within both definite and indefinite paradigms, see §4.63n1, and so it is somewhat surprising that *-ost* is commoner than *-ast* in OE.

4.68 As observed in §4.61, the original comparative morpheme inherited from PIE was **-iz-*, and this was paralleled in the superlative morpheme **-ist-*. In OE this structure is regularly found in only a small number of adjectives, mostly of high frequency. As is also stated in §4.61, both morphemes cause *i*-umlaut. The adjectives which most frequently follow this formation are these:

eald *old*	yldra	yldest
ġeong *young*	ġingra	ġinġest
hēah high	hȳrra	hȳhst
lang *long*	lengra	lenġest
sċeort *short*	sċyrtra	sċyrtest

Several of the above forms are subject to normal dialect variation. Hence, for compared forms of *eald*, EWS has *ieldra*, *ieldest*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.163ff.), Angl has *ældra*, *ældest* (beside positive *ald*), see ibid.: §5.79(2a); compared forms of *hēah* include EWS *hīerra*, *hīehst*, see ibid.: §§5.163ff.;[1] in LWS, *iung* appears frequently in the positive alongside *ġeong*; on this and regular forms in other dialects, see ibid.: §§5.60–2.

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[1] But for the difficult geminate *-rr-* in *hȳrra*, see the discussion in Hogg (1992b: §7.91n1).

4.69 Two types of analogical levelling are often found amongst this group of adjectives: (i) the effects of *i*-umlaut (and other changes) may be levelled away; (ii) the irregular superlative inflexion may be replaced by the regular inflexion. These types are discussed under (1) and (2) below.

(1) Of the above adjectives, two show quite frequent levelling in favour of unumlauted forms, namely the compared forms of *ġeong* and *hēah*. In WS we find, alongside *ġingra*, *ġinġest*, the predicted unumlauted forms, see Hogg (1992b: §5.64), *ġiongra*, *ġeongra*, *iungra*, *ġeongest*, all without umlaut. Levelled forms are less frequent, but they can be found in both EWS and non-Ælfrician LWS. In WMerc, levelled compared forms are regular, hence PsGl(A) *iungra*, *ġungra*, *ġungest*, all from positive *iung*, *ġung*. Similar forms are found occasionally in Nbr, e.g. Li *ġiungra*. More commonly, however, especially in Ru1, umlauted forms are found, e.g., *ġingra*, *ġinġest*. It is most probable, however, that these, too, are levelled forms, but in which levelling is in favour of the compared forms rather than the positive, the same texts also having positive *ġinġ*;[1] note also PsGl(A) 148.12 *ġingrum* dat.pl.[2] For compared forms of *hēah*, two types of levelling may be observed. Firstly, the effects of *i*-umlaut may be levelled away, so that forms such as comp. *hēara*, *hēarra*, *hēahra* can be found.[3] Levelling is more frequent in the superl., so that alongside *hȳhst* we find a substantial number of examples of the type *hēahst*,[4] which in LWS may, see further

below, be subject to palatal monophthongization, see ibid.: §§5.119–23, and hence arise the frequent types *hēhst*, *hēxt*, see ibid.: §7.6. Secondly, it will be observed from the above that normally in WS, medial -*h*- is regularly restored in the superl. and frequently so restored in the comp.[5] It is difficult to determine whether some forms discussed above, e.g. *hēhst*, are the result of palatal monophthongization, as suggested above, or, when outside of Ælfric, of Angl influence on the root vowel.[6,7]

(2) There are a few forms in which a vowel appropriate to the alternative suffix is found, the most frequent occurrences of which are for *yldost* 'oldest' (6× in Ælfric). It should be noted that such replacement has no effect on the preceding umlauted vowel. Alternatively, and mostly in LWS,[8] syncopated forms occur, despite the following consonant cluster, hence *yldsta*, *ġingsta*, *lengsta*.[9] Such syncopated forms can also be found with some compared forms of *strenġe*, see §4.70, and several suppletive adjectives, see §4.71.

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[1] See further Hogg (1992b: §5.64&n3), including the reference there to the alternative view presented in Campbell (1977: §176n2).

[2] The apparently positive PsGl(A) 118.9 *ġinġ*, however, glosses *iuvenior* and must surely be an error.

[3] They are not, however, very frequent and are usually restricted to a few texts. Thus, for example, the great majority of instances of *hēarra* are to be found in GenB, and none are be found in the major EWS texts or in Ælfric. However, it should be noted that comparative forms as a whole are infrequent, and therefore the absence of relevant examples may be accidental.

[4] On the status of -*h*-, also very infrequent -*g*-, see n6 below.

[5] Examples of the superl. without -*h*- are particularly rare.

[6] Rare examples of medial -*g*-, e.g. PPs 117.21 *hēagost*, are surely due to orthographic equation of <h> and <g>, see Hogg (1992b: §7.64).

[7] Typical forms in Angl are comp. *hēra*, superl. *hēst* (positive *hēh*, with smoothing). These perhaps show levelling from the positive (rather than smoothing), as supposed by Campbell (1977: §658n6), although the results would be identical. But such analogical change is not required, as they are the regular phonological developments of the expected forms, e.g. **hēahist*- > **hēhist*- (umlaut) > **hē-ist*- (loss of [h]) > *hēst* (elimination of hiatus). NNbr (Li, DurRitGl) strongly favours retention of the suffixal vowel, i.e. *hēist* and variants, but this is absent from both Ru2 and Merc.

[8] But note Or 97.18 *ieldstena* 23.24 *ġingst*.

[9] And hence, by analogy, uninflected *yldst*, *ġingst*, *lengst*, *sċyrtst*.

4.70 Aside from the words cited in §§4.68–9, a few words show sporadic examples of the older suffixes: note *brǣdre* 'broader' (incl. Or 15.27, 123.21), Alex 671 *ġehlīuran* 'warmer', Alex394, ÆHom 16.134 *grȳt(t)ra* 'greater'. Probably different from either of these are the compared forms *strengra*, *strenġest* (positive *strenġe* 'strong'), both of which are more frequent than unumlauted *strangra*, *strangest* (positive *strang*).[1] Since the commoner positive form is *strang*, it seems probable that the alternative suffix types predominate because there is a clear preference for umlauted compared forms, perhaps in parallel with *lang*.[2]

[1] An *u*-stem in origin that has merged with the *a/ō*-stems (*strang*) or *ja/jō*-stems (*strenġe*).

[2] Evidence that the older suffix type is retained comes from occasional syncopated *strengsta* (incl. Or 3×).

4.71 All the suppletive adjectives discussed in §4.64 show the older formation of compared forms with the suffixes **-iz-*, **-ist-*, and hence in WS the syncopated forms *bet(t)ra*, *betst*, *wyrst*, *lǣst* occur.[1] These adjectives also show much simplification of consonant clusters, as in *best*, *sella*, *wyrst*, *lǣssa*, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.80ff., 7.91–2).[2,3] The form LawAbt 56 *lǣrestan* for later *lǣs(es)tan* is apparently an archaism (cf. OFris *lērest*), showing the effect of dissimilation in PGmc **laisist-* > **laizist-*, see Oliver (2002: 30).

[1] On the latter two, see Hogg (1992b: §6.24(2)); on syncope in the former two, ibid.: §6.67&n2. Note that Beo 947, 1759, 1871 *betsta(n)* is shown by the metre to be a scribal substitution for *betesta(n)*, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 174).

[2] Forms of minor interest include examples of *betost*, *sēlost*, *sēlust*, where the newer suffix has apparently replaced the umlauting suffix, but, cf. §4.69(2), without affecting the preceding umlauted vowel.

[3] The failure of *i*-umlaut in *māra* 'greater' is a result of hiatus resolution in Gmc, so that the disyllabic sequence **-ai-* became a diphthong and hence developed normally to OE *ā*, cf. Girvan (1931: §312A). Thus, compared forms of this word should never show umlaut, as in Nbr *māst*, *maast*. But the regular form of the superl. outside Nbr is *mǣst*, in parallel with *lǣst*. This may be due to the analogical re-addition of **-ist-* after the monophthongization of **ai*, producing **mā-ist-*.

4.72 As was mentioned in §4.64(1), two groups of de-adverbial adjectives occurred, e.g. *innemest* 'inmost'. Neither group has positive forms distinct from the positive adverb, although in some cases noted further below the positive form of the adverb may have acquired adjectival function. These groups are discussed in §§4.73–4 below.

4.73 The older of these two groups, wherein the normal comparative suffixes are added directly to an adverbial base form, is represented by the following words:

feorr *far*	fyrra	fyrrest
nēah *near*	nēarra	nȳhst
ǣr *earlier*	ǣrra	ǣrest
fore *before*		fyr(e)st

These adjectival forms show the same variations as other adjectives, both through normal phonological change, e.g. variation between *fyrra* and *firra*, and by analogy, so that, for example, compared forms of *nēah* parallel those of *hēah*, see §4.69(1).[1]

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[1] Of the positive forms, *feorr*, *nēah* and *ǣr* can occasionally also be used as adjectives, in which event they inflect normally. But *feorr* appears then to be restricted to poetry, and *nēah* to late glosses, as in PrudGl 1.818 *nēagum*, 890 *nēahne*.

4.74 The commoner set of de-adverbial adjectives are constructed as extended forms of adjectives like *forma* 'first', *meduma* 'middling', *hindema* 'last'. The suffix *-ma* represents in *forma*, *hindema* a PIE elative construction,[1] to which the normal superlative suffix could come to be added, hence *fyrmest*. This formation was then extended in OE[2] to a range of de-adverbial adjectives. Typical examples of this set follow the paradigm of *inne* 'inside': *inne*, *innerra*, *innemest*. Further examples include *ūte* 'outside', *ufan* 'from above',[3] *neoðan* 'from below', *fore* 'in front',[4] *forþ* 'forth', *medume* 'middling', *æfter* 'after', *sīþ* 'later', and adjectives of the compass: *norþ*, *sūþ*, *ēast*, *west*. These words may be further divided into two subgroups: those with umlaut in compared form and those without umlaut. The former group potentially comprises all words except the points of the compass, although several remained unaffected on phonological grounds, namely *inne*, *sīþ*, *æfter*. Of the remainder, *ūte* and *ufan* show umlauted alongside unumlauted compared forms, as does *neoþan* occasionally.[5] The most frequent superlative form of *fore* is the older *forma*, but *fyrmest* is also common, alongside occasional unumlauted *formest*. On the other hand, *forþ* (*furþra*, *forþmest*) is almost always unumlauted.[6,7] The second type, the points of the compass, are hardly ever umlauted,[8] e.g., *norþerra*, *norþmest*, see §4.75.

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[1] Compare Lat. *summus* 'highest', and see further Szemerényi (1996: §7.8.6).

[2] But it is also found in Gothic, where *frumsts* 'first', *hindumists* 'last', *aúhumists* 'highest', *aftumists* 'last' and *spēdumists* 'last' are found. Further Got forms found only in the positive are *innuma* 'inner', *iftuma* 'next', *hleiduma* 'left'. Other early Gmc languages show no traces of the construction.

[3] Note also the superlative form *ȳmest*, related to Go *aúhumists*, not *ufan*, see n2 above.

[4] But see further below.

[5] In the last of these, umlauted and unumlauted forms are difficult to distinguish, due to the variable application of back umlaut, but CP 41.301.21 *nieðemesð* is a probable example.

[6] We have noted only the late charter form Ch 1145.6 *fyrþmest*. But the superlative *forþmest* is confined to (frequent) examples in Nbr, the one exception being an instance in the Merc Ru1.

[7] Note also Beo 752 *elran* 'other' dat.sg.masc. < **alira-*.

[8] Campbell (1977: §675nn3&4) calls attention to Ch 811 *nyrðre* and Ch 359 *sȳþeran*, alongside several instances of adverb *sȳð*, all in the Winchester Cartulary.

4.75 There is considerable evidence that in OE the superlative suffix discussed in §4.74 was reanalysed as *-mest*. Thus, as observed above, the points of the compass had been added to the set of words using *-mest*, although they only exceptionally show the predicted umlaut. In addition, in a variety of mostly later texts, the suffix is occasionally written *-mæst*, less often *-mast*, which suggests confusion and therefore identification with *mǣst* 'most'.[1] Finally, it should be noted that two further adjectives develop superlatives in *-mest* alongside more frequent forms with *-est*: thus *lætemest* (mostly Ru2, but also BenRW) alongside *lætest* 'latest' and *midemest* superl. of *midd* 'middle' (occasionally in late texts). The semantic connexions between these and the other adjectives with the *-mest* suffix presumably formed an integral part of the development of this new suffix.

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[1] The suffix would of course be unstressed in most forms (excluding those like *ȳtemest* and *æftemest*, see §4.52&n4), and therefore its vowel would be shortened in comparison with the apparent simplex form.

V Adverbs

4.76 In general in OE, adverbs are uninflected for case. The only exceptions to this rule arise when an adverb forms a compound with a preposition (such words also generally serving also as prepositions), in which the adverb may receive a case ending dependent upon the preposition, e.g., *beæftan* 'behind', *beforan* 'before', *wiþinnan* 'within', *wiþūtan* 'without', *toġeġnes* 'in return' and many others. Similarly, adverbial compounds in which the second element is not an adverb may be inflected according to the properties of the uncompounded phrase, e.g., *tomiddes* 'in the middle'. Neither of the above usages is a property of the inflexional morphology; see Mitchell (1985: §§1380–1427) for the use of case in forming adverbial constructions.

4.77 Compared forms of adverbials are most usually found with de-adjectival adverbials. Such adverbials follow a pattern of comparison parallel to that of adjectives and inclusive of the types of variation found amongst adjectives. The shapes of the comparative and superlative adverbial morphemes differ slightly from those of the corresponding adjectival morphemes in the following general respects. The usual comparative adverbial morpheme is derived from PGmc **-ōz* but without any *n*-suffix as in adjectival **-ōzan-*, cf. §4.61.[1] Final **-z* should have been lost in WGmc, see Krahe and Meid (1969: I, §115), but it appears to have been preserved, to develop to **-r* by rhotacism, under the influence of the adjectival forms. The regular superlative is formed in the same manner as the regular adjectival superlative but without inflexional ending. Thus, the normal mode of comparison can be exemplified by *hearde* 'severely', *lēoflīċe* 'lovingly', as follows: *hearde*, *heardor*, *heardost*; *lēoflīċe*, *lēoflicor*, *lēoflicost*.[2] A few underived adverbs show the same formation; hence we find: *forþ* 'forth', *furþor*; *inne* 'inside', *innor*;

oft ‘often’, *oftor*, *oftost*; *ġelōme* ‘often’, *ġelōmor*;[3] *seldan* ‘seldom’, *seldor*,[4] *seldost*; and the adverbs of the compass *norþor*, *sūþor*.

[1] This **-ōz* is a PGmc innovation, presumably modelled on the adjective suffix, but it is an early development, as we find already in Gothic *-ōs* alongside *-is*.

[2] As with adjectives, the superlative ending also occurs as *-ust*, *-ast*, and the parallel variation, with *-ur*, *-ar*, can be found in the comparative. Note that the suffix of the positive degree *-līċe* probably contains a long vowel, whilst the comparative suffixes contain a short one. The evidence for length in the positive degree is chiefly metrical, though it is not exceptionless, see Fulk (1992: §227, cf. §§223–5). The evidence that the comparative suffixes contained a short vowel is orthographic, including spellings like *-lecor* (esp. in EWS), *-liocar* (Kt), *-lucor*, *-lecast*, etc. Note that although adj. *-lic-* is never spelt with <e> or <u> in texts by Ælfric, whether amongst the best Ælfrician texts (e.g. ÆCHom and ÆLS) or otherwise, we do find in a text of lesser probative value ÆLet 4 (SigeweardB) 792 *lōmlucor* ‘more frequently’. (On the distinction between the best Ælfrician texts and others, see Fulk, 2008: 96n1.) Cf. §4.52.

[3] 1×; usually *ġelōmlicor*, *ġelōmlicost*.

[4] Note Met 28.67 *seldnor*.

4.78 As with the adjectives, see §4.68, there are several adverbs which originally formed their comparative with **-iz* and hence their superlative with **-ist*. Unlike the adverbs discussed in §4.77, these do not analogically retain the comparative suffix (cf. the loss of **-iz* in heavy-stemmed *i*-stem nouns, §2.56), and therefore the comparative, if preserved in its original form, is distinguished from the positive only by *i*-umlaut of the root vowel. Thus we find:[1]

———	ǣr, ǣror[2] *earlier*	ǣrest
ēaþe *easily*	ȳþ	ȳþost
feorr *far*	fyrr	fyrrest
hēah *high*	hēar, hēaor[3]	hȳhst
lange *long*	lenġ	lenġest
nēah *near*	nȳr	nȳhst
———	sīþ[4] *later*	sīþost
sōfte *softly*	sēft	sōftost[5]
tulge *firmly*	tylġ[6]	tylġest

As with the adjectives of the same type, i-umlaut can be levelled away, and this accounts for the forms *ēaþ*, *ēaþost*; *hēar*, etc.; *nēar*, *sōftor*, cf. nn3, 5.

[1] As with the comparable adjectives, these adverbs are subject to normal dialect variation, cf. §4.68.

[2] The historical form is *ǣr*, but *ǣror*, with a double suffix, is frequent.

[3] No umlauted form of the comparative is attested. The original form is reflected in Got *háuhis*.

[4] And very rarely *sīþor*, with a pleonastic suffix, cf. n2.

[5] There are no superlative forms recorded which show umlaut.

[6] This comparative occurs only at EpGl, ErfGl 743, CorpGl 1636, LS 3 (Chad) 150, in the last meaning 'rather' and taking the form *tyliġ*, and also in the Cotton ms. of the OE translation of the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great, in the form †*tilġ*, also 'rather', see Hecht (1900–7: 277). The superlative occurs, as *tylġust*, only at Res 96, whilst *tylġest* is from LS 3 (Chad) 34, a text preserved only in a very late manuscript, though apparently a much earlier composition, strongly marked by Merc features.

4.79 There are four suppletive adverbs, directly comparable to the suppletive adjectives discussed in §4.64(2). These adverbs are:

wĕ̄l[1] *well*	bet	bet(e)st, best
	sēl	sēlest
yfle *badly*	wyrs	wyrst, wyrrest
lȳtel, lȳt *little*	lǣs	lǣst, lǣsest
micle *much*	mā	mǣst

Such words do not in general show any variation in form which is substantially different from that found in the related adjectives, but note Merc *mǣ* 'more', also 2× in Li, plainly influenced by the superlative.

[1] The evidence for the variable quantity of the root vowel is chiefly ME, e.g. Orm's *wel* beside *well*. The variability is presumably due to variation in clausal stress, see Hogg (1992b: §2.80).

VI Numerals

1 *Cardinals*

4.80 In dealing with the inflexions of the OE cardinal numerals, it is appropriate to divide them into the following subgroups according to their morphological properties: (a) *ān* '1'; (b) *twēġen* '2' and *bēġen* 'both'; (c) *þrȳ* '3'; (d) the numerals 4–12; (e) the numerals 13–19; (f) the higher numerals. This ordering is preserved in the discussion which follows below.

4.81 The numeral *ān* '1' is always declined as an indefinite,[1] thus following the paradigm of *sum* 'some', see §§4.13, 4.15. As such it is without further morphological difficulty, except that alongside the expected acc.sg. masc. *ānne* there appears very frequently the form *ǣnne*.[2] This form reflects a variant of the accusative suffix in PGmc, **-inōn* as compared to the usual **-anōn*, cf. §4.10. In Angl texts particularly, the form *enne* (< *ænne* with early shortening, perhaps in low stress, and with subsequent *i*-umlaut, see Hogg (1992b: §5.79(1))) is frequent. The same form occurs occasionally in LWS, including Ælfric.

[1] Such a claim, however, is both controversial and not without difficulty, but the full discussion in Rissanen (1967) and the further analysis in Mitchell (1985: §§536–44) both suggest that *āna*, apparently nom.sg.masc. but of the definite declension, is indeclinable and adverbial in quality.

[2] Thus, using the data in the *DOEC* we can derive the following frequencies for *ānne* and *ǣnne*, respectively, in various EWS and LWS texts: CP: *ānne* 5× ~ *ǣnne* 7×; Or: 7× ~ 24×; ÆLS: 15× ~ 76×: ÆCHom: 2× ~ 69×.

4.82 The numeral *twēġen* '2' and the quantifier *bēġen* 'both', which decline in parallel, see §4.83, are inflected for gender in the nom.acc. but not in the gen.dat. Thus we usually find the following forms in LWS:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	twēġen	twā, tū	twā
Acc.	twēġen	twā, tū	twā
		All genders	
Gen.		twēġ(e)ra	
Dat.		twām	

4.83 Any attempt to reconstruct the PGmc paradigms of these words is fraught with difficulties, many of which are ignored below. The masc. *twēġen* was re-formed in WGmc on the basis of *bēġen*, see further below, and hence does not directly correspond to either NGmc or Gothic forms, e.g. nom. Got *twái*, ON *tveir*.[1] Neut. *tū* corresponds to PGmc **twō*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.26), whilst fem. *twā* is from masc. *twai*.[2] For the variation between usual neut. *twā* and less frequent *tū*, see further §4.84, but the neut. form is unlikely in origin to be identical to the fem., cf. Girvan (1931: §329) for references to other views. It will be plain that all acc. forms are identical to the nominative. Gen. *twēġ(e)ra*, like masc.nom. *twēġen*, is formed by analogy to *bēġen*, but the inflexion is, as with adjectives, from the pronominal system, cf. §4.10. On the earlier, and less common, form *twēġ(e)a*, see §4.84. The dat. can be derived from a PGmc instrumental form **twaimiz*. It should be plain from remarks above that *bēġen* follows exactly the same paradigm as *twēġen*, presumably because of their semantic propinquity. The nom. form of the quantifier is derived from compounded **bō* + *jenō*, the second element of which is otherwise seen in OE only in CP(H) 443.25 *ġeonre* 'yon' dat.sg.fem.[3]

[1] See Bammesberger (1985a: 368–9), with references.

[2] In Got, *twái* is masc., but see Prokosch (1939: §99).

[3] The simplex is found in Got *jáins* 'yon', and compare OE *ġeond* 'throughout'.

4.84 The most obvious dialectal variation concerning these words is the presence of *i*-umlaut in the vowel of the stem. Umlaut is found regularly in nom.masc. in all dialects, and similarly in the acc.gen., but in Angl the stem vowel most commonly remains rounded, e.g. Nbr *twōēġe*, with the exception of Ru1, where only unrounded forms like *twēġen* and *twǣġen* occur,[1] and PsCa(A) 6.2 *twēġen* alongside gen. *twōēġa*. Kt has Ch 1482 *twǣġen*. In the dat., *twām* without *i*-umlaut is the regular form in LWS and even in earlier texts such as Lch. It also appears alongside *twǣm* in clearly EWS texts. By contrast, *twām* is absent from Angl. It is most probable that *twām* is formed on the analogy of *twā*.[2] The most important of the other variations concerns the nom.acc.neut., where by far the more frequent form is *twā*, and *tū* is less common, being absent, for example, from Ælfric.[3] Generally, *bēġen* declines in parallel with *twēġen* throughout, from dialect to dialect.

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[1] On the latter form, see Hogg (1992b: §5.192n1).

[2] Less likely is the possibility suggested by Brunner (1965: §324A1) that it derives from a Gmc dat. **twaimuz*.

[3] However, in lNbr *tuū* is usual in the neut. and *twā* in the fem.

4.85 *Þrȳ* corresponds to PGmc **þrīz* < PIE **trei-es*, with subsequent loss of *-*z*, and the variant EWS forms *þrīe*, *þrī* are usually explained as due to the influence of the nom.acc.masc. ending -*e* of adjectives, see further §4.86, whereas all other nom.acc.gen. forms are directly derivable from Pre-OE neut. **þriju*, fem. **þrija*, with the normal endings of indefinite adjectives, see §4.13. The dat. corresponds to PGmc **þrimiz*. The usual LWS paradigm is as follows:

	Masculine	**Neuter**	**Feminine**
Nom.	þrȳ	þrēo	þrēo
Acc.	þrȳ	þrēo	þrēo
Gen.		þrēora	
Dat.		þrim	

4.86 The major difficulty in the declension of *þrȳ* is related to the source of the masc.nom. form. That form appears to be derived from PGmc **þrīz*, with loss of final *-*z*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.10), and then addition of the pronominal inflexion -*e*, see §4.14, also Brunner (1965: §324A3), Girvan (1931: §331). It may be noteworthy in this context that Angl texts show no distinction of gender in this numeral, which is always *þrēo* or predictable variants thereof.[1] Other dialectal variants mostly fall within the normal limits of phonological variation, e.g. EWS *þrīe*, LWS *þrī*, EWS -*īo*- for -*ēo*-, and a wide variety of diphthongal spellings in Nbr, such as *ðrīu*, *ðrīo*, *ðrīa*, *ðrēo*, *ðrēa*. Li also has a weak gen. of the form *ðrēana*, and, for reasons unknown, the vowel of the dat.pl. must have been lengthened, to judge by the frequent spelling <ðriim> (also in DurRitGl) alongside <ðrim>; perhaps the lengthening is due to the influence of dat. *twǣm* ‘2’.

[1] But note Kt Ch 1500.19 *ðrīe*, Ch 1482.60 *ðrēo*, both neut., and presumably the former of these is disyllabic.

4.87 Like the numerals discussed above, the numerals 4–12 can be used both as nouns and as adjectives. Used as attributive adjectives they are usually undeclined,[1] but elsewhere they may decline. In declension the following type of paradigm is usual:

	Masc./Fem.	**Neut.**
Nom.	fēow(e)re *four*	fēow(e)re, -u,[2] -o
Acc.	fēow(e)re	fēow(e)re, -u,[2] -o
Gen.	fēow(e)ra	fēow(e)ra
Dat.	fēow(e)rum	fēow(e)rum

Most variation in these numerals is the result of regular change, including reduction and interchange of unstressed vowels, particularly in Nbr, where it is difficult to assess the values of the several spellings.[3] In WS the neut. is most usually spelt with *-e*, showing loss of all gender distinction. In LWS the most frequent forms of the undeclined numerals are as follows: *fēower* '4',[4] *fīf* '5', *six*, *syx* '6', *seofon*, *syfon* '7',[5] *eahta* '8',[6] *nigon* '9', *tȳn* '10', *endleofan* '11', *twelf* '12'. As with the inflected numerals, dialectal and other variations are mostly phonological. Because the first constituents of compounds are also undeclined, it is difficult to distinguish undeclined numerals from compounded elements. Under some circumstances, when numerals are assumed not to form compounds with following nouns, they in fact create metrical anomalies in verse.[7] Such anomalies are securely attested, however, only for numerals with suffixed *-hund* and *-niht* (and cf. PDE *fortnight*, *sennight*), and so it is probably safest to assume that undeclined numerals may form compounds only with other numerals and with *-niht*, and perhaps also *-dæġ*.[8] See also §3.146.

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[1] See, however, Mitchell (1985: §552) for discussion and citation of occasional examples to the contrary.

[2] **Fēoweru* is not found, but cf. *fīfu*.

[3] In Nbr the nom.acc. may also be spelt with final *-a*.

[4] On the development of the word in Gmc, see Hamp (1976), Stiles (1985–6).

[5] Also both with final *-an*.

[6] SNbr Ru2 has *æhtowe* (6×) from inflected forms; note also Rid36.4 *ehtuwe*, metrically trisyllabic, which is the same formation.

[7] Thus, for example, unless the element following the numeral is assumed to form a compound constituent with reduced stress, verses of Sievers's type B must often be assumed to have substantial stress in the second drop, e.g. GenA 1193 *and nigonhund ēac*, though the poets otherwise generally avoid stress in the second drop; and verses of Sievers's type A3 must be assumed to end in two separate words, e.g. GenA 1349 *nū ofor seofon niht*, though this pattern is studiously avoided except in late poems, see Fulk (1992: §§238–45, 291).

[8] For discussion, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 322–3).

4.88 The numerals 13–19 are formed from their corresponding simple numerals by the addition of *-tȳne* (EWS *-tīene*, nWS *-tēne*), and if inflected may show gen. *-a*, dat. *-um*.

4.89 Amongst the higher numerals, 20–60 are formed with the suffix *-tiġ*,[1] and those from 70 to 120 with, in addition, prefixal *hund-*, hence, e.g., *twēntiġ* '20', *hundseofontiġ* '70', *hundtēontiġ* '100',[2] *hundtwelftiġ* '120'.[3] The prefix is already sometimes absent in EWS, e.g. Or 82.21 *seofontiġ* '70', and this variation continues in later texts.[4] The suffix *-tiġ-* does not behave metrically like the adjective suffix *-iġ-*, see §4.47, for whilst *-iġ-* before a vocalic inflexion is usually not a syllable in scansion, *-tiġ-* always bears ictus, see Fulk (1992: §231). For '200', etc., compounds of the simple numeral and *hund* (rarely *hundred*, e.g. *DOEC* has *fīfhund* 4× and *fīf hund* 38×, *fīfhundred* 1× and *fif hundred* 8×) are formed.[5] *Þūsend* '1000' is also neut., with regular inflexion in both sg. and pl., e.g. *þūsendu* 'thousands', with variation of the inflexional vowel, although it may also be with zero inflection or uninflected.

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[1] On the etymology, see Bammesberger (1986c).

[2] *Hund* is itself a neut. noun '100', and this, alongside *hundred* '100' (usually Nbr *hundreð* and similar, under Norse influence), both either declined or not, is an alternative means of expressing the numeral. But *hund-* as a prefix in *hundseofontiġ*, etc., has a different derivation, see Bosworth and Toller (1898: **hund-**). The reason for confinement of the prefix to the decades above '60' is disputed: see Lühr (1977), and more recently Mengden (2005, 2006, 2010: 87–94), but especially Nielsen (1990), with a conspectus of scholarship, advocating the purely phonological solution of Szemerényi (1960). Most solutions assume a semantic motive.

[3] Also late *hundtwēontiġ*.

[4] In Nbr, forms which show the weakened prefix *un-* occasionally occur, e.g. LkHdGl(Li) 41 *unseofuntigum* '70'.

[5] The difference between *fīfhund* and *fīf hund* is purely a matter of editorial choice rather than of a genuine linguistic difference. See §4.87n6.

2 *Ordinals*

4.90 The ordinals up to '12' are as follows (in their most usual LWS forms): *forma*, *fyrmest*, see §4.74, also *ǣrest* 'first', *ōþer* 'second',[1] *þridda* 'third', *fēorþa* 'fourth', *fīfta* 'fifth', *sixta*, *syxta* 'sixth', *seofoþa* 'seventh',[2] *eahtoþa* 'eighth', *nigoþa*, 'ninth', *tēoþa* 'tenth',[3] *endleofta* 'eleventh' (with many minor variants, e.g. *endlefta*, *-lyfta*, *enlefta*),[4] *twelfta* 'twelfth'. The ordinals from 13 to 19 are formed with suffixal *-teoþa*, e.g., *þrēoteoþa*.[5] The ordinals for 20–120 are doubly suffixed by *-tigoþa*, which shows wide variation in form, but without particular significance from a morphological point of view. The cardinal numerals *hund*, *hundred*, *þūsend* are without corresponding ordinals of their own.

[1] Note also the pair *ǣrra* ‘former of two’ and *æfterra* ‘second’.

[2] Nbr and Ru1 have *seofunda*, *siofunda*.

[3] But in northern texts, or texts with some northern influence, we find that Li, Ru2 have forms of the type *tei(ġ)ða*, *tēġða*, and that Bede and the *Martyrology* both have *tēogoða*.

[4] And in Nbr and Ru1 *ællefta*, also Ru1 *ellefta*.

[5] But some northern(-influenced) texts use *-teġ(e)ða* and variants thereof, cf. n3 above. On the etymology of the suffix, see Bammesberger (1986c).

4.91 All the ordinals from ‘third’ onwards, together with *forma* ‘first’, *ǣrra* ‘former of two’ and *æfterra* ‘second’, decline regularly as definite adjectives. By contrast, *ōþer* ‘second’ always declines as indefinite. The ordinals *fyrmest*, *ǣrest*, which have a superlative suffix, may be either indefinite or definite according to the usual syntactic conditions for adjectives, see §§4.1–2.

5

Pronouns

I Introduction

5.1 We may distinguish four principal types of pronoun which OE inherited from PGmc: (1) demonstrative; (2) anaphoric; (3) interrogative; (4) personal.[1] From an historical-etymological point of view, the first three types are closely related (although they may reflect a variety of stem-formations, see further below), and their inflexional systems show, by one means or another, the categories of number, case and gender which are equally present in nouns and adjectives. By way of contrast, the personal pronouns in this inherited system do not show gender and show signs of formation from a variety of stems, several of which are not found elsewhere in the pronominal morphology. This has led some scholars to suggest that the traditional word-and-paradigm approach is somewhat inappropriate to these pronouns, see for example Prokosch (1939: §98), but see Szemerényi (1996: §8.4) for an alternative, more positive, view. In any case, it is necessary to be aware that from the standpoint of Proto-Indo-European, the personal pronouns comprise only the first- and second-person pronouns, and that by contrast the so-called third-person pronoun is a weakened demonstrative pronoun which patterns similarly to other demonstratives and which in Gmc may best be classified as the anaphoric pronoun. The four principal types of pronoun are discussed in the following sections in the order presented above, followed by briefer discussion of indefinite and other pronominal types.

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[1] For a brief discussion of other pronoun types, see §§5.33–9 below.

5.2 It is a consequence of the method of presentation outlined in §5.1 that the first- and second-person pronouns are discussed separately from the third-person pronouns. It must be emphasized that this separation is

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motivated only on morphological grounds. Syntactically, these personal pronouns share all their principal characteristics.

II Demonstrative pronouns

5.3 OE had two demonstrative pronouns,[1] *sē* 'that', *þēs* 'this'. These pronouns contrast in the deictic features of 'distance' and 'proximity', and the wider and more frequent use of the former suggests that it is the unmarked member of the pair, without necessarily ever equating to the 'definite article', which more probably began to develop during the ME period.[2]

[1] But a third demonstrative apparently occurs at CP(H) 443.25 *to ġeonre byrġ* 'to that city'. Its status is discussed in Mitchell (1985: §312), with a further reference.

[2] There are both morphological and syntactic justifications for this claim, see further Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §117), Mitchell (1985: §328), Traugott (1992: 171–2) and Fischer (1992: 217–21).

5.4 The usual paradigm of *sē* 'that' in LWS is as follows:[1]

	Masc.	**Neut.**	**Fem.**	**Plural**
Nom.	sē	þæt	sēo	þā
Acc.	þone	þæt	þā	þā
Gen.	þæs	þæs	þǣre	þāra
Dat.	þǣm	þǣm	þǣre	þǣm
Instr.	þȳ, þon	þȳ, þon	——	——

Departures from this paradigm and variant forms in other dialects are discussed below in §5.8. This pronoun could be either demonstrative or relative. In the latter function it might serve alone, or it might be combined with *ðe*, a construction chiefly of syntactic interest (see Mitchell 1985: §§2103–362), though it raises the morphological question of whether a construction like *sē þe* is one word or two. There is some reason to think that it is indeed a compound, since the first constituent frequently appears in verse in places where it represents a violation of Kuhn's first law if it is a separate word.[2]

[1] On vowel quantities in stressed and unstressed pronouns, see Hogg (1992b: §§2.80, 5.198) and §§5.6, 5.17(1) below.

[2] For example, in Beo 1839 *þǣm þe him selfa dēah*, the demonstrative is not clause-initial and so ought to be stressed if it is a separate word. See Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 129 note on Beo 183b), with references. Some editors hyphenate such constructions, e.g. Pope (2001). Rather different is the question whether a conjunctive construction like *oþ þæt* is one word or two, a question about which editors likewise disagree. For reasons to regard it as two words, at least in Beo, see Fulk (2007b: 168–71).

5.5 The PGmc system from which the OE derived in all essentials appears to have been based primarily on the PIE deictic stem **to-/tā-*, supplemented in the nom.sg. uter by **so-/sā-*, from an alternative deictic stem. This PGmc system appears to have had broadly the following form, although the variety of forms in the later dialects makes it impossible to reconstruct a unitary system for any stage of PGmc:[1]

	Masc.	**Neut.**	**Fem.**	**Plural**[2]
Nom.	*sa	*þata	*sjō[3]	*þai
Acc.	*þana	*þata	*þō	*þans[4]
Gen.	*þes[5]	*þes	*þairja[6]	*þaira
Dat.[6]	*þaimi	*þaimi	*þairja	*þaimi

The paradigm is strongly influenced by analogy to the anaphoric pronoun, §5.15, see Seebold (1984: 68–9). The OE instrumental forms, although undoubtedly Germanic in origin, are so distinct from those in the other Gmc dialects that it will be more appropriate to delay their discussion to §5.7 below.

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[1] Ignored here are various changes, in particular very early changes from PIE and those later changes in PGmc and WGmc caused by reduction and loss in unstressed syllables, except where these are directly relevant to the OE development. Other issues of primarily Gmc interest are discussed in the footnotes below. For all forms discussed in these footnotes, reference to Prokosch (1939) or some other handbook of Germanic, e.g. Hirt (1932), is essential.

[2] Got, ON and OHG show distinct forms for each gender in the nom.acc.pl., and Got also has a separate form for the fem.gen.pl. In both OE and OSax the masc. forms have been generalized throughout the plural.

[3] The form underlying WGmc is **sjō*, in contrast with Go *sō*, ON *sú*.

[4] In all the WGmc dialects, and as in the nominal declensions, the acc.pl. is replaced by the nom.

[5] OE is exceptional in having the PIE stem form **to-so* rather than usual **te-so*. This appears to be a late analogical development, see Beekes (1988).

[6] In the gen.fem. and throughout the dat.sg., OE (and ON) appears to have generalized the diphthongal stem vowel of the corresponding plural. In the same case forms, **-i* or **-j-* must be assumed in order to account for the presence of umlaut in OE. However, the sources of **-i* and **-j-* are different, see §5.6.

5.6 Vowels and diphthongs might be long or short by context: long vowels would be shortened when unstressed, and final short vowels would be lengthened when stressed, see Hogg (1992b: §5.198) and §5.17(1) below. The majority of the forms cited in §5.5 develop straightforwardly into the LWS forms presented in §5.4, but the following present issues of difficulty or interest:

nom.sg.masc.: The normal rules of OE syllabification, see Hogg (1992b: §§2.80, 5.198), would have required lengthening of *se* > *sē* if stressed, in order to conform to the minimal -VV structure required for a stressed syllable. To follow Quirk and Wrenn (1957: §65), and suggest that in pronominal position the usual form was *sē* but that in dependent positions the form was *se*, may be too strong a generalization,[1] but it remains useful as an heuristic.

nom.sg.fem.: The LWS form is regularly derived from earlier **sjō*, see §5.5n3.

gen.dat.sg.fem.: *I*-umlaut is caused by *-j-*, which element is of PIE origin, see Szemerényi (1996: §8.21). For unumlauted forms, see §5.8n5.

dat.sg.masc.neut.: The Germanic ending which is the cause of *i*-umlaut in the OE form appears to correspond to that of Old Church Slavonic instr. sg. *tēmĭ*, and the diphthong in the root appears to have been extended from the plural, but in other respects the OE form is regularly derived.

acc.pl.: As noted in §5.5n4, the acc.pl. has been replaced by the nom.pl.

dat.pl.: The presence of umlaut is regular under the assumption that the Gmc form equates to Old Church Slavonic instr.pl. *tēmi*.

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[1] The comments of Mitchell (1985: §329) are entirely apposite: '…while we must concede that dependent *se* sometimes carries stress, we have no certain means of deciding when it does in any but the most obvious examples'.

5.7 The two forms traditionally described as 'instrumental', namely masc.neut.sg. *þȳ*, *þon*, neither of which is decisively related to forms in other Gmc languages, pose particular difficulties. If the former is to be derived from a PGmc form **þō* > **þū* (cf. OSax *thiu* < **tjō*), the presence of *i*-umlaut is not obviously explicable. Perhaps it may most plausibly be derived from **þū* to which has been added the adjectival instr. **-ī* < **-ei*, see §4.10, also Girvan (1931: §315). *Þon* may show the same element as in the first constituent of Got *þana-meis* 'still', again suggested by Girvan (1931).

5.8 There are a number of systematic deviations from the LWS paradigm presented in §5.5. The most widespread of such variants occurs in dat.sg.masc.neut. and dat.pl, where unumlauted forms, i.e. *þām* alongside *þǣm*, are frequently found in WS.[1] It may then be best to explain very frequent LWS *þǣra* gen.pl. as resulting from extension of the variation-type in the dat.pl. to the gen.pl. A second type of variation occurs in the masc.acc.sg. *þone* and masc.neut.instr. *þon*, which are sometimes, and in all dialects, found as *þane*, *þan*. This, however, is a purely phonological development, albeit obscure, see Hogg (1992b: §6.4), also Hogg (1996).[2] A third variation which is important for the later history of the language and which is restricted to Nbr and the Merc Ru1 is the appearance of *ðe* alongside masc.nom.sg *se*. In Nbr this formation is paralleled in the fem. pronoun, i.e. *ðīu*, and variants.[3] There are a number of further variant forms, but these are usually the result of regular sound change, e.g. EWS *sīo* for fem. *sēo*, and PsGl(A) *þet*, *þes* due to Second Fronting.[4,5] On the use of *ðone* and *þæt* with all genders in late manuscripts, see Millar (2002a, b), with references.

[1] Also occasionally in Kt, perhaps most frequently in OccGl 49. Single examples in Nbr are probably not significant.

[2] In LWS there is a further development to *þæne*, which is very difficult to explain; for one attempt, see Campbell (1977: §380). The same type can also be found in Angl, with the significant exception of PsGl(A), but in those dialects the form *þene* is also found, as might be expected, since <æ> and <e> do not contrast before nasal consonants, see Hogg (1992b: §5.78), Davidsen-Nielsen (1984), and thus it is the rarity of *þene* in Ælfrician LWS that requires explanation. Although Campbell argues that this form shows full stress, that would seem phonologically improbable, and it is more likely that it is a completely unstressed form (which may explain the LWS distribution of <æ> and <e>). The same variations are equally found in adverbial *þonne*, in *hwone* (acc. of *hwā*), *hwonne*, i.e. *hwane*, *hwæne*, Angl *hwæn(n)e*, *hwenne*. Nbr also has *hwoenne*, which would appear to be due to rounding after /w/ and thus confirms stress, as suggested by Campbell.

[3] Amongst variants, Ru1 occasionally has acc. *þene*. It is difficult to know whether this is an extension from nom. *þe*, i.e., *þe+ne*, or whether it is related to the forms discussed in n2 above. Either explanation is possible.

[4] Gen.pl. *ðeara* in PsGl(A) is usually explained as from unstressed *ðara*, which is re-stressed and is then subject to second fronting and back umlaut. The same form occurs in Kt charters of the 9th century, presumably under the influence of Mercian orthography. The later OccGl 49 has no relevant examples.

[5] Other minor variants include the following: (1) PsGl(A) usually has nom.sg.fem *sīe* against *sēo* (1×), and such spellings in that dialect probably either indicate a diphthong or are simply digraphic, see Hogg (1992b: §5.169), and note the rare *sīu*, *sīe* in Ru1 alongside usual *sēo*, *sīo*; (2) The mainly LWS fem.gen.dat. *þāre* alongside usual *þǣre* may be the result of confusion caused by the alternative forms of the corresponding masc.neut.dat.sg., see above; similar forms can be found in Kt texts, and OccGl 49 has also *ðāra* with confusion of the ending; (3) the fem.gen.dat.sg. occasionally appears as *þēre* (or *þere*?), and although the form is infrequent in WS with the exception of late charters, it is dominant in PsGl(A) and may represent a regular unstressed variant; (4) in Nbr are found apococated forms of the masc.acc.sg., i.e. *ðon*, and fem.gen.dat., i.e. *ðǣr*, most often in the dat., see also §5.12.

5.9 The usual paradigm of demonstrative *þēs* 'this' is as follows:[1]

	Masc.	**Neut.**	**Fem.**	**Plural**
Nom.	þēs	þis	þēos	þās
Acc.	þisne	þis	þās	þās
Gen.	þisses	þisses	þisse	þissa
Dat.	þissum	þissum	þisse	þissum
Instr.	þȳs	þȳs	———	———

Deviations from this paradigm and variant forms in other dialects are discussed below in §§5.10–12.

[1] As with *sē*, §5.4, vowels in the paradigm might be long or short by context: see §5.17(1).

5.10 This strongly deictic demonstrative originates in a compound structure of which the first constituent was the PIE demonstrative stem **to-/so-*, to which was added an uninflected suffix. But even in PGmc it would appear that this system had been restructured, so that only in the masc.nom. *þēs*, fem.nom. *þēos*, fem.acc. *þās*, nom.pl. *þās* and instr. *þȳs* are there relics of the older system. In other positions, regular inflexions are added to the stem *þis-*.

5.11 The most frequent of the variations which have a purely phonological cause are as follows. Firstly, in LWS, forms such as gen.sg. *þysses*, which show laxing of /i/, occur often, although never as frequently as unlaxed *þisses*, see for further details Hogg (1992b: §5.173). The occurrence of the inverted spelling *þis* instr.sg. for *þȳs* demonstrates that weakly stressed forms with shortening of the vowel must have occurred, and presumably weakly stressed forms equally occurred elsewhere, even when spelling is unaltered. Secondly, where *-ss-* appears medially, the geminate may be simplified, resulting in *þises* for *þisses* and other parallel variants. This simplification is almost entirely restricted to WS texts, and it is more often found in LWS than EWS.[1] Thirdly, as the result of exceptional back umlaut with an intervening geminate, see ibid.: §5.107, EWS (CP only) and non-Ælfrician LWS have infrequent examples of dat.sg.pl. *þios(s)um*, *þeos(s)um*.[2]

[1] Elsewhere, examples are most frequent in NNbr. The Kt form *ðisem* in Ch1197.21 may be a further example even if Campbell (1977: §378n2) is right that *-em* is by analogy to *þēm*.

[2] Sporadic examples can be found elsewhere, hence PsGl(A) 30.24 *ðeossu* dat.pl. (presumably for *ðeossum*), and in Kt Ch287 *ðeassa* gen.pl., Rec6.5 14 *ðeosse* dat.sg. See Fulk (2008).

5.12 Amongst morphological changes, the following are of particular interest. In LWS, gen.dat.sg.fem. and gen.pl. often adopt the adjectival inflexions *-re*, *-ra*, i.e. *þisre*, *þisra*, and this most usually leads to phonological epenthesis, see Hogg (1992b: §6.41), hence *þissere*, *þissera*. In Nbr similar forms occur, but there is usually apocope in the gen.dat.sg. and absence of epenthesis in the gen.pl., hence sg. *ðisser*, pl. *ðisra*.[1] But forms apocopated to end in *-r* are more frequent in the dat.sg. than in the gen.sg., cf. §§5.8, 5.27. Secondly, in Nbr only there are clear signs of morphological restructuring, in particular of the fem., where a new dat. form *ðasse* appears alongside the more usual types such as *ðisser*, see above. This change is equally extended to the dat.pl. *ðassum*.[2] Finally, all dialects develop a masc.sg. form of the type exemplified by occasional WS *þeosne*, which may be uncertainly related to the back umlaut type discussed in §5.11 above.

[1] Note also MtGl(Ru) 21.21 *þissere* dat.sg.fem.

[2] Most probably such forms are related to nom.acc.pl. *ðās*.

5.13 The only other demonstrative form which requires attention, but see also §5.3n1, is *þæġe* nom.acc.pl., which occurs in a few rather late WS texts. This is a form borrowed from ON *þeir* but with either demonstrative or (less often) relative function. It is not to be confused with the ME development of pronominal *they*.[1]

[1] It is also rarely found as fem.acc.sg. as a substitute for *þā*, as at LS 24.70. Since this can arise only through the formal equation of fem.acc.sg. and nom.acc.pl., it is clear the LWS forms are quite different from the ME ones.

III The anaphoric pronoun

5.14 With a few clear exceptions, there is a general similarity between the anaphoric pronoun which serves as the third-person pronoun in Old English and that attested in Gothic, where we find *is* 'he', *ita* 'it', *si* 'she'. In comparison we find in OE *hē*, *hit*, *hēo*. The explanation for the discrepancy, although see further §5.15, is that whereas Gothic displays forms which derive from, broadly speaking, a PIE **i*- demonstrative, cf. Lat. *is*, the OE pronoun has the stem PIE **ḱi*-, cf. Lat. *cis*, and cf. Got *himma daga* 'today', *und hina dag* 'to this day', *und hita* 'hitherto', beside usual *imma*, *ina*, *ita*, respectively. In their initial consonant the forms of the anaphoric pronoun in OE most clearly resemble those in ON, which equally present the stem from PIE **ḱi*-.[1]

[1] For forms in the other early Gmc languages, see, for example, Prokosch (1939: §94). It should be noted that there is considerable variation in stem type in all the other Gmc languages. Seebold (1984: 66) argues that forms in *h*- outside of the nom.sg. represent an analogical extension of *h*- in Anglo-Frisian. Got *himma*, *hina*, *hita* show that this need not have been the case. But since the ON paradigm is suppletive, with some forms in initial *þ*- (nom.pl.masc. *þeir*, acc. *þá*, etc.), it does appear that forms in *h*- did not originally supply a complete paradigm.

5.15 The usual paradigm of the anaphoric pronoun in LWS was as follows:[1]

	Masc.	**Neut.**	**Fem.**	**Plural**
Nom.	hē	hit	hēo	hī
Acc.	hine	hit	hī	hī
Gen.	his	his	hire	heora
Dat.	him	him	hire	him

For these forms there are many phonological variants in all dialects, see further §5.17.

[1] As with the personal pronouns proper, there are no instrumental forms, but unlike them, the anaphoric pronoun has no dual forms.

5.16 It is reasonable to suppose that the paradigm presented in §5.15 is descended from a similar paradigm in the prehistory of the language, and that the inflexions which were attached to the stem were parallel to the inflexions found in the forms of the demonstrative *sē̆*, *þæt*, *sēo*, see §§5.4–5. Only the following inflexions, therefore, require particular mention from a Gmc point of view:

nom.sg.masc.: OE *he* derives from PGmc **hiz*, which was altered to **hez* by the vowel-lowering effect of *-*z*, cf. Hogg (1992b: §3.20), which itself was then exceptionally lost after rhotacization;[1] the vowel would then be lengthened in stressed forms, see ibid.: §§2.80, 5.189, and §5.17(1) below;

nom.sg.neut.: this form retains the shape of the stem found in Got *ita* 'it', but the initial consonant of the PIE *ḱ*-stems is added to the *i*-stem by a transparent analogy.[2]

[1] Note, however, that this exceptional behaviour is found only with the personal pronouns, e.g. *me* from **mir*, and also interrogative *hwa*, see §§5.20, 5.25, also Hogg (1992b: §4.16).

[2] The suggestion by Prokosch that PDE *it* might be a survivor of the original stem is surely an error.

5.17 Amongst the more important phonological variants of this pronoun, we may note the following:

(1) The pronoun could occur in both stressed and unstressed positions. In stressed positions the vowel of the nom.sg.masc. would be lengthened by normal processes in OE, see Hogg (1992b: §2.80), and hence appear as *hē*; otherwise it would remain short, i.e. *he*. Similar variation would have occurred with the other open monosyllables, i.e., *hē̆o*, *hī̆* (all forms). Conversely, even in closed syllables, long vowels and diphthongs could be shortened when unstressed: see §5.11. It is often asserted that the diphthongal monosyllables were invariably long, but that position is difficult to maintain.

(2) In all dialects there is variation between nom.acc.pl. *hī* (or a phonological variant thereof, see further below in this section) and *hēo*. The former, *hī*, is etymologically uter and the latter, *hēo*, neuter. But the latter also equates to the nom.sg.fem. whilst the former, in contrast,

equates to the acc.sg.fem. Thus, relevant etymological paradigms in EWS would have been:

	Masc.	**Neut.**	**Fem.**	**Pl.**
Nom.	hē	hit	hēo	hī, hie, hēo
Acc.	hine	hit	hie	hī, hie, hēo
Nom.pl.	hie	hēo	hie	hira, heora
Acc.pl.	hie	hēo	hie	him

Clearly, there was much opportunity for confusion, and therefore, unlike in the other cases considered in this section, the changes must have been morphologically conditioned. EWS retains the original forms of the uter in the plural nom.acc. i.e., *hī*, *hie*, see (3) below, although the original neut. *hēo* also occurs; in the singular the distinction between nom. and acc. fem. is retained. The situation is similar in LWS. In Merc, PsGl(A) has *hie* in all relevant forms, including nom.sg.fem., thus contrasting with WS, whilst in Ru1 the two types of form seem thoroughly confused.[1] In NNbr, the most frequent of the plurals is *hia* in both nom. and acc., and phonological variants thereof, but the type *hī* occurs in a minority of instances; in the fem.sg., the regular form of both nom. and acc. is *hīo*.[2] In SNbr the plural forms are most frequently *hiæ*, *hia*, but *hie* also occurs occasionally. In the fem.sg. the nom. is *hīo*, contrasting with acc. *hia*, *hiæ*. In Kt, Occ49 has both *hī* and *hīo* in the plural, whilst in the fem.nom.sg., *hīo* is plainly more frequent than *hī*, but forms of the fem.acc.sg. are absent.

(3) In all forms in which LWS has medial *-ī-*, EWS has, alongside the same forms, variants with medial *-ie-*. For discussion and examples of this phenomenon, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.163ff.). Perhaps in EWS, see §6.148&n1, and certainly in Angl, *-ie* in *hie* represents not the usual EWS diphthong but a sequence of two short vowels.[3] Furthermore, already in EWS (Or) there is a tendency in positions of low stress for /i/ to lax and then be represented by <y>. Hence, variants such as *hys*, *hym* arise alongside *his*, *him*. These variants are quite infrequent in the best manuscripts of Ælfric; they are much commoner in other late texts, see ibid.: §5.173 for examples. All these variants are found only in WS texts.

(4) There are a small number of further variants which are of interest.[4] Firstly, in LWS the most important of these is dat.pl. *heom* rather than *him*, which starts to appear in some Ælfrician texts and is frequent thereafter, for example in WSCp. Outside LWS the variant is regular only in the Merc Ru1. Since this variation occurs independently of nom.acc.pl. *hēo*, see (2) above, it is difficult to provide a plausible explanation,[5] except that probably the diphthong has been extended

from gen.pl. *heora*, where it is due to back umlaut. Secondly, in Nbr the apocopated fem.dat.sg. *hir* is much more frequent than unapocopated *hire*, cf. §§5.8n5, 5.12.[6]

(5) There must also have been enclitic forms of the anaphoric pronoun in OE, but none are attested until the Middle English period because, if the view of Seebold (1984: 60) is correct, they were not regarded as literary.

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[1] Except in nom.sg.fem., where only *hīo* and variants occur, but the absence of the *hie* type here may be purely accidental.

[2] In all Nbr texts there is much phonological variation of the diphthongal form, so that, for example, <hiu, hio, hia, hea, hiæ> are all variants of the same morphological form, see further Hogg (1992b: §5.44) for discussion of the phonological issues.

[3] The point cannot be demonstrated directly because *hie* is rarely stressed in verse, but etymologically it is parallel to the present subjunctive *sie(n)* of 'to be' (but with original **i* rather than **ī* shortened antevocalically), which is often disyllabic in verse, e.g. GenA 1827, Dan 307, And 417, Met 10.23, though never in a position in which a heavy first syllable is required. In non-Ælfrician LWS texts, the spellings *hie* and *sie*, but with <ie> in no other word, are often a sign of Anglian influence, see Fulk (2008). The fact that spellings in <ie> are so rare in Angl aside from in these two words, see Hogg (1992b: §5.169), supports the assumption that *hie*, like *sie*, is disyllabic.

[4] In addition to the Nbr diphthongal forms remarked in n2 above, it should also be observed that both Merc and Kt have similar variations of phonological origin. Thus, in Merc we find gen.pl. *heara*, and in Kt *hiore*, *hiora*. *Hiora* also occasionally occurs with other spellings: *hiara*, *heora*, *heara*.

[5] Perhaps the motivation was to differentiate singular and plural forms. From early examples we can cite forms in Chron(A) at 443 (1×) and 449 (3×). Note also the Kt Ch 1508.11 *heom*.

[6] The occasional use of nom.pl. *he* in PsGl(D), alongside *hȳ*, which is noted by Campbell (1977: §703), might be connected with laxing, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.170–5). It is possible to find examples, as in PsGl(D) 70.10, where *he* and *hȳ* occur side by side.

IV Interrogative pronouns

5.18 The interrogative pronouns of Gmc also serve as indefinite pronouns meaning 'someone', 'something'.[1] The interrogatives must always have been stressed, but not the indefinites, and the co-occurrence of stressed and unstressed forms has consequences for the pronoun's development, see §5.20.

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[1] This is an ancient property, since it obtains in interrogatives derived from PIE **k^{w}o-/k^{w}i-* in other languages, though often the indefinite function is marked by the addition of an affix, e.g. Lat. (*ali*)*quis* 'someone', *quisque* 'whoever', see also §5.20n1.

5.19 The usual paradigm of the interrogative pronoun in LWS was as follows:

	Uter	**Neuter**
Nom.	hwā	hwæt
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwǣm	hwǣm
Instr.[1]	———	hwȳ, hwon

Variations from this paradigm and variant forms in other dialects are discussed below in §5.20.

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[1] *Hwȳ* is used alone to mean 'why?'; *hwon* is almost never used this way, but as the object of a preposition. An exception is at HomS 19.113.

5.20 No plural forms were in use in PGmc, though plurals to the cognate root are common in other IE languages. In both interrogative and indefinite use, masculine and feminine referents are not distinguished morphologically.[1] The desinences closely resemble those of the demonstrative *sē*, see §5.4, and are of similar origin. The exception is *hwa* from **hwaz*, which shows loss of final **-z* originating in the unstressed form, see §5.16&n1. Subsequently, *hwa* was extended to stressed positions, with the result that the vowel was lengthened under conditions like those that produced lengthening in *sē*, see §5.6.[2] There occur variants like those found in the paradigm of demonstrative *sē*, viz. acc.sg. uter *hwane*, *hwæne*, dat. (WS) *hwām*, instr. *hwī*, *hwan*, see §5.8&n2. In Li, *hwæt* often takes the form *huæd*, sometimes also *huætd*, and similar spellings.

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[1] An exception to this rule occurs when the prefix *ġe-* is added to produce the meaning 'each one', 'everyone', see §5.35. Under such circumstances, in LWS there developed the form *ġehwǣre*, *ġehwāre* in the gen.dat.fem., on the model of the corresponding form of the demonstrative *sē*, i.e. *þǣre*. In poetry, this neologism is sometimes substituted by scribes for the earlier form, often to the detriment of the metre, as at Beo 25, El 972, etc., see Sievers (1885: 485). That a similar development does not affect the unprefixed pronoun probably indicates that no particularly strong derivational connexion was perceived between the prefixed and the unprefixed forms. Got has some fem. forms in the paradigm of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun, but they may have a similar, analogical origin.

[2] Hollifield (1985) maintains instead that *hwā* is to be derived from **xwai*.

5.21 The remaining interrogative pronouns are all inflected like strong adjectives. These include *hwæðer*, *hweðer* 'which of two?',[1] *hwelċ*, *hwilċ* (*hwylċ*) 'which?',[2] and *huliċ* (or *hūliċ*?) 'of what sort?',[3] the last of which declines like adjectives in *-liċ*, see §4.52.

[1] *Hwæðer* is etymologically correct, but *hweðer* appears beside it in all dialects, doubtless as a low-stress variant in dialects with neither second fronting (see Hogg 1992b: §§5.87–92) nor Kt raising of *æ* to *e* (see ibid.: §5.189).

[2] *Hwelċ*, reflecting **hwa-līk-*, is normal in EWS, and it is found in all dialects. The predominant LWS form, *hwilċ* (*hwylċ*), corresponds to Got *hi-leiks* (like Lat *quisque* alongside *quodque*), being found also in Kt in OccGl 49 and some charters, and in Merc in Ru1. In Nbr there occur also *hwoelċ*, with rounding after *w*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.177–8), and *hwǣlċ* (found also in Ru1), if the vowel represents the *i*-umlaut of *ā* introduced on the analogy of *hwā* (so Campbell 1977: §197), otherwise *hwælċ*, probably with *æ* representing a rounded vowel, see ibid.: §5.179.

[3] EWS *hulucu* and Nbr *huluco* are to be explained as showing back umlaut of *i* under medium stress, with subsequent monophthongization, see Hogg (1992b: §6.11). Nbr *huliġ* shows lenition of final *ċ* under low stress, see ibid.: §7.52.

V Personal pronouns

5.22 OE had a full set of first- and second-person pronouns, *iċ* 'I' and *þū* 'you (sg.)', which, unlike most other OE pronouns, show no gender marking. Unlike in many IE languages, there is no distinction in the second-person pronouns between formal and familiar forms of address: the distinction between *þū* and *ġē* 'you (pl.)' is solely one of number.

5.23 The usual paradigm of the first-person pronoun in LWS was as follows:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
Nom.	iċ[1]	wit	wē
Acc.	mē	unc	ūs
Gen.	mīn	uncer	ūre
Dat.	mē	unc	ūs

However, *mē* and *wē,* i.e. monosyllables with a final vowel, must have had variants with short vowels in unstressed positions, just as with demonstrative *sē*, see §5.7; and indeed, the short vowels are more original. Dual forms are rare in Angl, where they are attested only in Ru1 and RuneRuthwellA. Departures from this paradigm and variant forms in other dialects are discussed below in §§5.26–8.

[1] A negated form, *niċ(ċ)*, is used as a response 'no'.

5.24 Germanic inherited from PIE a suppletive system of first-person pronouns in which the nominative stem differed from the stem of the oblique cases. The late PGmc paradigm out of which the OE forms developed appears to have been approximately as follows:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
Nom.	*ik	*witu	*wīz
Acc.	*mek	*unk	*uns
Gen.	*mīnō	*unkerō	*unserō
Dat.	*miz	*unk	*uns

5.25 Of the forms cited in §5.24, the following present issues of difficulty or interest:

nom.sg.: **ik* must have been the unstressed form, with analogical introduction of its vowel into the stressed form, with only ON *ek* showing retention of the original stressed vowel amongst the Gmc languages (cf. Lat *egō̆*).

acc.sg.: **mek* is the stressed form; all the other Gmc languages show generalization of unstressed **mik*. The root is **me*-, with the addition of *-*k* borrowed from the nom.[1] The form *mē* could be due to loss of *-*k* when **mek* was extended to unstressed positions, with lengthening of the final vowel when it was re-stressed, see ibid.: §2.80. More likely it represents replacement of the acc. by the dat., see §5.26, as happened widely in Gmc and IE, see Seebold (1984: 32–3, 35–6).

gen.sg.: To the root **me*- was added the adj. suffix *-*īn*- (cf. *stǣnen* 'made of stone' < **stain-īn-a-z*, §4.44(b)), presumably producing **mein*- > **mīn*-, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3). To this was added an adj. ending, perhaps nom.acc.pl.neut. *-*ō*, as assumed here.

dat.sg.: Unstressed **miz* developed in the same way as **hiz*, see §5.16&n1.

nom.du.: **wi*- reflects an unstressed form of the same root found in the nom.pl.; *-*tu* is perhaps an unstressed form of the root that appears in PGmc as **tw*- 'two'; but Seebold (1984: 25–6) instead reconstructs **wi-de*, with *-*de* regarded as cognate with the alternative form of 'two' reflected in Hittite *ta*-.

acc.du.: To the root **un*-, found also in the plural, is added *-*k*-, probably drawn from the acc.sg.

gen.du.: To the stem **un-k*- is added, probably, an adj. suffix, as in the sg., but this time of the form *-*er*-, as in *ōðer* 'other'. The ending is as in the gen.sg.

nom.pl.: To the stem **wī*- (from PIE **we-i*, ibid.: §3.3) is added a Gmc masc.pl. noun suffix -*s*. In the unstressed form of the word, *ī* is shortened, and **wiz* (showing the effect of Verner's Law, §§4.4–5) then develops like **hiz*, §5.16&n1. Seebold (1984: 27–30) instead reconstructs PIE **we-s* parallel to **we-i*, the former with a nominal ending, the latter a pronominal.

acc.pl.: To the root **un*- found also in the dual is added *-*s*-, probably from the same source as in the nom.pl.

gen.pl.: The form *ūre* has no parallel in Gmc and is difficult to explain as derived from **unserō* (formed like gen.du. **unkerō*) by phonological processes pertaining to stressed syllables. The stem **ūser-* (from **unser-*, see ibid.: §3.14) was used as an adj., and perhaps in an inflected, unstressed form of the adj. *e* was syncopated and *z* (from *s*, see ibid.: §4.15) assimilated to the following *r*.

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[1] But an earlier origin in PIE is not unlikely: see Seebold (1984: 34–5), and cf. Shields (2001a).

5.26 The chief morphological variation in the paradigm is that the Anglian dialects and poetry evince acc. forms with a different ending, i.e. sg. *meċ*, du. *uncet* or *uncit*, pl. *ūsiċ*, though in Merc *me* and *ūs* also occur as acc. forms. Of these, *meċ* agrees with the Gmc cognates except as regards the vowel, see §5.25. As remarked there, acc. *mē* is probably analogous to the dat., see Ross (1933). As regards acc.pl. *ūsiċ*, this is paralleled by OHG *unsih*, to be derived from **uns-ik*. The desinence **-ik* is no doubt borrowed from the stressed acc.sg. **mik*.[1] Possibly acc.du. *uncit*, *uncet* developed from **unk-et*, in which the desinence could be derived from a stressed nom.pl. **wet*,[2] but perhaps more likely the form is dissimilated from **unk-ik*, parallel to the corresponding plurals in both the first- and the second-person pronouns.[3] The form *uncit* has no precise parallel in a related language.[4] In verse, the metre sometimes reveals that a WS monosyllabic form has been substituted for an Angl or poetic disyllabic acc. form in *-ċ* or *-t*, see Fulk (1992: §355(7)).

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[1] The lack of *i*-umlaut in *ūsiċ* is most likely due to restoration by analogy to *ūs*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.85.10(a)), and cf. the following note.

[2] So Campbell (1977: §703n1), cf. Howe (1996: 134–5). The basis for Campbell's analysis is the lack of *i*-umlaut in *uncit*. However, the assumption of analogical restoration of the unumlauted vowel is necessary in regard to *ūsiċ* because OHG *unsih* demands reconstruction of a form ending in **-ik*, and analogy is therefore hardly unlikely in regard to *uncit*. This conclusion removes a possible objection to the analysis of Shields (2001b), who sees in this form the reflex of a PIE non-singular dental suffix.

[3] Such is the analysis of Stiles (1996).

[4] Note, however, that the Got and ON cognates reflect a form with **-is* added to the stem, perhaps by analogy to dat.sg. **mis* (so Prokosch 1939: 283); but perhaps more likely **-is* is older than that and is based on PGmc nom.pl. **we-i-s* before *ei* developed to a diphthong and was monophthongized to *ī*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.3).

5.27 In Merc, for gen.pl. *ūre* PsGl(A) has only *ūr*, which also occurs in the *Royal Glosses* (OccGl 54) 3× beside *ūre* and adjectival forms. In Nbr, the corresponding forms are *ūser* and *ūsra*. Endingless Merc *ūr* is less likely to be due to apocope than to morphological reanalysis on the basis of the related adjective. That is, *ūr* is ultimately abstracted from inflected *ūres*, *ūrne*, etc. Certainly, Nbr *ūsra* is adjectival in origin.[1] Nbr *ūser* may also be adjectival in origin, since it perhaps is not the etymologically correct reflex of stressed PGmc **unserō*, see §5.25.[2]

[1] Indeed, since the Angl sources are glosses rather than independent prose, the distinction between pronoun and adjective on the basis of syntax may not always be reliable.

[2] If non-high vowel syncope operated the same way as high vowel syncope with respect to final *-u*, we should expect ***ūsero* for the pronoun, see §3.64ff. But the data pertaining to this question are too limited to afford a determination. Possibly, though, stressed **ūserō*, if extended to unstressed positions, would have behaved differently as regards syncope and apocope.

5.28 Some normal phonological and orthographic variants occur in lNbr. Due to the change of final [k] to [x] under low stress, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.52–3), pronouns ending in *ċ* after a vowel (*iċ*, *ūsiċ*) may be spelt with final <h, ch, g>. The vowel in *wē* may be spelt <oe>, of which <æ> MkGl(Li) 4.35 may be considered a variant, see ibid.: §§5.77n1, 5.179. This represents an actual sound change, rounding after *w*, see ibid.: §5.177. But possibly <æ> is an alternative spelling of *ē*: cf. <gæ> MkGl(Li) 14.42 beside <ge, gee>, etc.

5.29 The usual paradigm of the second-person pronoun in LWS was as follows:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
Nom.	þū	ġit	ġē
Acc.	þē	inċ	ēow
Gen.	þīn	inċer	ēower
Dat.	þē	inċ	ēow

However, *þū*, *þē* and *ġē*, i.e. monosyllables with a final vowel, must have had variants with short vowels in unstressed positions, just as with *sē*, §5.6. Departures from this paradigm and variant forms in other dialects are discussed below in §5.32.

5.30 The late PGmc paradigm out of which the OE forms developed appears to have been approximately as follows:

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
Nom.	*þu	*jutu	*jū̆z
Acc.	*þek	*ink	*izwiz
Gen.	*þīnō	*inkerō	*iuwerō
Dat.	*þiz	*ink	*izwiz

Unlike in the first-person pronouns, the nominative and oblique forms do not appear to derive from different stems. The antecedent acc.sg. form PIE

**twe* is the result of the addition of **-e* to nom. **tu*, and the resultant PGmc **þwe* lost its w under low stress in the oblique cases at a very early date, with subsequent addition of **-k* as with first-person **mek*. The oblique cases of the dual are analogical in origin, see §5.31.

5.31 The relation between most of the LWS forms cited in §5.29 and the PGmc ones cited in §5.30 is transparently parallel to the corresponding relation in the first-person pronouns; see §5.25 for details of their development. Of the forms cited in §5.30, the following merit special comment:

nom.du.: The vowel *u* was replaced by *i* in both North and West Gmc under the combined influence of first-person nom.du. **witu* and the vocalism of the oblique cases.

acc.du.: All the oblique cases in the dual are Gmc innovations, as they do not resemble forms in other IE languages. The analogical model is obviously the oblique cases of the paradigm of the first person dual pronouns, and the *i*-vocalism in West Gmc is most likely supplied on the basis of the plural.

nom.pl.: OE *ġē* reflects a form **jiz* altered from **juz* by analogy to NWGmc first person nom.pl. **wiz* > OE *we*, with subsequent lengthening under stress.

acc.&dat.pl.: The form of the oblique stem in PGmc is uncertain, but plainly **iu-* underlies the WGmc forms, see Flasdieck (1933). According to Seebold (1984: 41–2), **izwiz* > **izwez* co-occurred with **izwaz* > **ezwaz* in WGmc, and **-zw-* was assimilated to **-ww-*. The bare stem **iu* would normally develop to LWS **ēo*; the final *w* in the actual LWS form *ēow* was supplied by analogy to the genitive.

gen.pl.: **iuwerō* is formed the same way as the corresponding first-person pronoun (**unserō*), i.e. **iu* + *erō*, with the glide *w* inserted to fill the hiatus between the vowels, see Petersen (1930: 183).

5.32 As with the first-person pronouns, the Anglian dialects and, in part, poetry add a marker of the accusative: acc.sg. *þeċ*,[1] acc.du. *inċit*,[2] acc.pl. *ēowiċ*,[3] see §5.26. Predictable alternative spellings with <h, ch> for final *ċ* occur, see §5.28. Nbr acc.pl. *īuih* is extended to the dat. In DurRitGl and Li it has almost entirely supplanted the earlier dat.,[4] but in the latter the dat. form is redifferentiated by the change of *-ih* to *-uh* or *-h*. In Ru2, *īow* is likewise extended to the accusative, so that the two forms are used indifferently for both cases. Also in Nbr, nom.pl. *ġie* (beside *ġē*, etc.) probably shows raising under low stress, see Hogg (1992b: §5.54).

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[1] Alongside nearly as frequent *ðē* in PsGl(A).

[2] Although in the corresponding first-person pronoun we find *uncet* alongside *uncit*, there does not occur **inċet*, presumably because <c> was palatal in the latter but not

in the former. Cf. the co-occurrence of *-liċ-* and *-lic-/-lec-* in adjectives, Hogg (1992b: §7.41).

[3] Once *ēow* in PsGl(A) 33.12.

[4] Li has also MtGl 26.41 *īow* and LkGl 22.10 *īw*, both dat.

VI Indefinite pronouns

5.33 The pronoun *man*, *mon* 'one' is used the way French *on* (from Lat *homo*) and German *man* are used, to form the semantic equivalent of a PDE passive construction. The word is undeclined, but it is masc., being derived from masc. *man(n)* 'person', and it is used with both sg. and pl. verbs. Also indeclinable is WS *fela*, Angl *feolu*, *feolo*, on the derivation of which see §2.3n4.[1]

[1] On WS *feala*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.42n1); on WS and Kt *feola*, ibid.: §5.105.4&n1; on PsGl(A) *fiolu*, ibid.: §5.158.

5.34 The indefinite pronouns *hwā* 'someone', 'anyone', *hwelċ*, *hwilċ* (*hwylċ*) 'anyone', and *hwæþer*, *hweþer* 'either (of two)' are inflected in the same way as the corresponding interrogative pronouns, with which they share their derivation and variant forms, see §§5.18–21. Adding the prefix *ā-* ensures that the same pronouns will be recognized as indefinite rather than interrogative, i.e. *āhwa*, *āhwilċ*, *āhwæðer*, the last of which may be contracted to *āwðer*, *āðer*, *ōwþer*, with corresponding negative forms *nāhwæðer*, *nā(w)ðer*, *nō(w)ðer*. The same effect is achieved by prefixation of *nāt-*, i.e. *nāthwa* 'someone', 'anyone' and *nāthwelċ* 'something', 'anything'.[1] Rare *samhwelċ* has the same meaning.[2] Fem. or neut. *wiht*, *wuht* 'something', 'anything' is declined as an *i*-stem, see §§2.63–5.[3] As a pronoun its meaning is unchanged by the prefix *ā-*, *ō-*,[4] whilst *nā-* or *nō-* negativizes it.[5] A compound of *wuht*, *wiht* with *nān-* also occurs, *nānwuht*, *nānuht* 'nothing'. The form of this found in Li and Ru2 is *nǣniht*, to which there also exists a positive form *ǣniht* 'something', 'anything'.

[1] The prefix *nāt-* is a reduction of *iċ nāt* 'I do not know'. Indeed, at Beo 274, *iċ nāt hwilċ* appears to have been substituted for the pronoun by a copyist, since the phrase complicates the metre, see Bliss (1967: §79).

[2] As a pronoun, rather than an adj., it occurs only at LawIne 23.3. The prefix is doubtless related to the conj. *sam* 'whether', 'or'.

[3] On the interchange between *wiht* and *wuht*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.8). The former is chiefly Anglian and poetic, for the most part foreign to Alfredian and Ælfrician WS.

[4] But on a certain restriction on adverbial usage, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 245 note on 2432ff.).

[5] To *āwiht*, *āwuht*, *ōwiht*, *nāwiht*, *nāwuht*, *nōwiht*, *nōwuht* there correspond also contracted forms, *(n)āuht*, *(n)āht*, *ōuht*, *(n)ōht*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.71n2). Neut. *āwihtes* is reduced even further in the adv. *(n)āteshwōn* '(not) at all'.

5.35 When *ġe-* is prefixed to the simple indefinites, they acquire a generalized meaning, *ġehwā* 'everyone', *ġehwelċ*, *ġehwilċ* (*ġehwylċ*) 'each', *ġehwæþer*, *ġehweðer* 'each (of two)'. The same generalized meaning is more often achieved by use of the prefix *ǣġ-* (derived from **ā-ġi-*), i.e. *ǣġhwa*, *ǣġhwelċ*, *ǣġhwæþer*.[1] Some generalized indefinites are formed by the addition of *(ġe)wel-*, i.e. non-Ælfrician *ġewelhwilċ* 'everyone' and poetic *welhwā* 'everyone'.

[1] See also §5.37n1 on the reduced form *ǣlċ*. Possibly *æt-* was used to form a generalized indefinite *æthwā* 'everyone', but the word occurs just twice (Pan 15, LawEpisc 10), and so it may be that *æt-* is an error for *ǣġ-*. In Angl the form is usually *ēġ-* (Li has *ǣġ-* rarely), alongside *ō(ē)ġ-*, both from **ō-ġi-*, see §5.37n1.

5.36 In the indefinite pronouns *hwæthwugu* 'something' and *hwilċhwugu* 'someone', it is the first constituent that is inflected, i.e. as forms of *hwæt* and *hwilċ*.[1] The second constituent also takes the form *-hugu* and, in EWS, pl. *-hwuguningas*, *-hwugununges*, *-hweg(a)nunges*, *-hweguningeas*; the alternative forms *-hwegu*, *-hwigu*, *-hwyga*, etc., occur in non-Ælfrician texts, including early and Anglian ones, such as the early glossaries (EpGl *-huuoegu*, CorpGl *-huegu*).[2] In NNbr the deuterotheme most commonly takes the form *-huoegu*, with rounding after *w* (see Hogg 1992b: §§5.177–8), but there it is also once inflected, in *huoelċhwoeges* 'of someone' LkGl (Li) 20.28, whilst the prototheme never is.[3] In Ru2, *aliquis* is usually glossed *hwelċhwoegu* and *aliquid* usually *hwelċhwoegnu*. Li also has a rare indeclinable pronoun *hu(o)elċhuoene* 'some(one)'.

[1] In most editions these are printed as one word, and the handbooks analyse them so. But it is peculiar to find inflexional preceding derivational morphemes, and so it might be better to regard *hwugu* as a separate word. Compounds with inflected first constituents may have been in existence in the tenth century, but not in the older language, see §3.144.

[2] The etymology is obscure: see Horn (1921: 82).

[3] To WS *hwæthwugu* corresponds Li *huothuoegu*, *huodhuoegu* (for *t* > *d*, cf. §5.20), the unusual rounding in the prototheme probably indicating greater stress on the deuterotheme.

5.37 Many indefinite pronouns are substantivized adjectives, and thus they are inflected like indefinite adjectives. Other than the ones treated in §§5.34–5, those given indefinite inflexions include *ǣlċ* 'each',[1] *ǣniġ* 'any', *eall* 'all', *nǣniġ* 'none',[2] *nān* 'none',[3] *nānþinġ* 'nothing', *sum* 'a certain person', *swelċ*, *swilċ* (*swylċ*) 'such',[4] and *þyslic*, *þuslic* 'such'.[5] Declined with definite inflexions are *se ilca* 'the same' and *se sylfa* 'the same', though *sylf* may also be declined indefinite without the demonstrative.

[1] A reduction of *ǣġhwilċ*, from *ā* 'always' + **ġi-hwilċ*, see §5.35. The form in PsGl(A) is *ylċ* (or *ȳlċ*?), once *ōēlċ* from **ō-ġi-hwilċ*. Ru2 has *ēlċ*, comparable to Angl *ēġhuelċ*, see §5.35n1. But *ǣlċ* is usual in other Nbr texts.

[2] *Nǣniġ* is almost entirely missing from Alfredian and Ælfrician WS.

[3] Derived from *ne* + *ān* 'one', hence acc.sg.masc. *nǣnne* beside *nānne*, see §4.81.

[4] The distribution of *swelċ* and *swilċ* is very similar to that of *hwelċ* and *hwilċ* (see §5.21n2), by which it was plainly influenced, since *swilċ* is unetymological, being formed by analogy to *hwilċ*. This was an early development, attested already in the *Corpus Glossary* (CorpGl).

[5] Alternative forms are *þylliċ*, *þulliċ*, see Hogg (1992b: §7.91(2)). There also occurs *þylċ*, see ibid.: §6.68n1. The co-occurrence of forms with and without *i*-umlaut is attributable to the same causes discussed in ibid.: §5.85(10)a.

VII Other pronominal types

5.38 In OE the relative function is expressed chiefly by the demonstrative *sē*, or by the relative particle *þe*,[1] or by a combination of the two, see Mitchell (1985: §§2103–415). The particle may also be used in conjunction with an anaphoric pronoun expressing the intended case of the particle within the relative clause, e.g. *þe his* 'whose' and *ðe hine* 'whom'. Alternatively, relative clauses may begin with *swelċ*, *swilċ* (*swylċ*).[2] Of a generalized relative meaning are *swilċ* 'whichever' and *swæþer (swā)* 'whichever (of two)' when these are contracted from *swā hwilċ* and *swā hwæþer (swā)*, and they are inflected like *hwilċ* and *hwæþer*. The same meaning is achieved in LWS by the addition of *lōc-* (beside the unreduced imperative *lōca* 'look') to form *lōchwa* 'whoever', *lōchwilċ* 'whichever' and *lōchwæðer* 'whichever (of two)'.[3] Whether or not *swā* could function as a relative particle is debated.[4]

[1] Proto-WGmc had no relative pronoun, and the relative function was assumed chiefly by a relative particle reflecting the PIE stem **to-* that underlies the paradigm of demonstrative *se*.

[2] On the inflexion of *swelċ*, *swilċ*, see §5.36n4.

[3] The editions often print *lōc* as a separate word or, conversely, *lōca-* as a prefix.

[4] See Mitchell (1985: §§2379–82), Schleburg (2002: 55–60). It would hardly be surprising if *swā* were occasionally treated as a relative particle, given the function of *swā*…*swā* in converting anaphoric and indefinite pronouns to 'generalizing' relative pronouns, i.e. ones that incorporate an indefinite antecedent to the relative function, e.g. *swā hwæt swā* 'whatever', *swā hwilċ swā* 'whoever' and *swā hwæþer swā* 'whichever (of two)'. Likely examples are Jud 123 and Beo 2608, in the latter of which perhaps *ġehwilċ swā* is functionally equivalent to *swā hwilċ swā*, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 252).

5.39 Although Germanic inherited a reflexive pronoun (e.g. ON acc. *sik*, dat. *sér*, gen. *sín*), no trace of it is to be found in OE, where anaphoric and personal pronouns are instead used to express reflexive relations. Only the related rare and chiefly poetic reflexive adj. *sīn* is preserved. On the reflexive pronoun in Gmc, see Seebold (1984: 57–8).

6

Verbs

I Early background

6.1 In Greek and Sanskrit, the verb system is morphologically complex, with three voices (active, middle, passive), four or five moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative; also injunctive in Sanskrit), and seven aspects/tenses (present, imperfect, future, aorist, perfect, pluperfect; also conditional in Sanskrit, future perfect in Greek) inflected for three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and three persons. Comparative evidence suggests that most of this complexity was present in the IE protolanguage from which the Gmc languages evolved.[1] Yet even in the most conservative of the older Germanic languages, Gothic, the majority of these categorial distinctions have disappeared, and the other Germanic languages show even further reduction of the distinctions. For the most part, then, with relatively isolated exceptions, the development of the verb system of Old English is most profitably elucidated by comparison to the systems of other WGmc languages rather than any reconstructed PGmc system, which must remain relatively speculative, given the remarkable differences between Gothic and the other Gmc languages in this regard.[2]

[1] See Szemerényi (1996: §9.1) and, for an alternative view, Drinka (2003) and Shields (2004), with references.

[2] On Gmc verb morphology, see Fullerton (1977) and Bammesberger (1986b).

6.2 In Gmc, the great variety of categories of inflexion that had characterized PIE verbs was sharply reduced to a conjugational system comprising, for most finite verbs, two tenses (present and preterite) and three moods (indicative, subjunctive,[1] imperative, the last without tense differentiation). The aspectual distinctions of PIE were abandoned.[2] Alone amongst the Gmc languages, Gothic preserves a number of dual verb inflexions; the

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other Gmc languages distinguish only singular and plural in verbs. As in the other NSGmc languages, one form serves for all persons in the plural of all tenses and moods;[3] as in OFris (but not OSax), one form serves for all persons of the singular in the subjunctive, both present and preterite. Gothic preserves a fully inflected category of passive verbs inherited from the IE protolanguage, though this category was lost in the other Gmc languages. In OE, the sole remnant of this synthetic passive is *hātte* 'is called', pl. *hātton*, corresponding to the Got passives *háitada*, pl. *háitanda*. Although the category of future tense was not expressed in the inflexional morphology of Gmc, in WGmc different stems could be used to distinguish present and future (and other) functions of the verb 'to be', see §6.146. In addition to these finite forms, there was: an infinitive used chiefly with auxiliary verbs,[4] e.g. *faran* 'to go'; an inflected infinitive or 'gerund' used chiefly with nouns, adjectives and forms of 'to be' to express necessity, futurity or purpose, e.g. *to faranne*; a present participle, e.g. *farende* 'going'; and a past or passive participle, e.g. *faren* 'gone',[5] the last two inflected as adjectives, see §§4.32, 4.53–6.[6]

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[1] The Gmc subjunctive corresponds formally to the PIE optative rather than to the PIE subjunctive, and hence in many handbooks it is called an optative.

[2] On these developments, see Hewson (1997, 2001).

[3] Note that Li *wutum* 'let us' appears to reflect a 1pl. form, as opposed to *wuton*, *uton* used elsewhere, seemingly reflecting a 3pl. form.

[4] E.g. *mæġ faran* 'can go'. 'Auxiliary' refers to a syntactic rather than a morphological property, and so auxiliary verbs are not discussed as a discrete category in this grammar. On the OE auxiliaries *bēon/wesan*, *dōn*, *habban*, *weorðan*, etc., and the modal auxiliaries *āh*, *can*, *mæġ*, etc., see Mitchell (1985: §§651–80, 990–1024).

[5] The participle is passive if the verb is transitive, active if intransitive, see Mitchell (1985: §§23–4). As remarked above in §4.1n3, in this work 'past participle' refers indiscriminately to past and passive participles, i.e. to second participles.

[6] For a synchronic model of the logical structure of OE verb morphology, see J.M. Anderson (1998).

6.3 A peculiarity of the IE protolanguage is that present-tense verb stems were for the most part not basic but derived. Although some verb roots formed the present stem without embellishment, many added an affix to distinguish the present from other categories, perhaps originally indicating durative, iterative, or some other verbal aspect rather than present tense. Most of these processes of stem formation ceased to be productive in Gmc, though stems in PIE **-yo-* played an important role in the Gmc verb system, see §6.78. Otherwise, OE preserves only relics of PIE present-stem suffixes. Thus, we find PIE **-sḱ-* reflected in OE *wȳsċan* < PGmc **wun-sk-j-an-* 'wish', *þerscan* 'thresh' and a few other verbs. Reduplication in the present stem has been extended to the preterite in *bifian* 'tremble', originally PGmc. **ƀi-ƀē-n-*.[1] A present-tense *n*-infix is preserved in *standan* 'stand', missing in the pret. *stōd*; otherwise, the original *n*-infix has been generalized outside the present system, e.g. *windan* 'wind', *fōn* < **fa-n-x-anan*. But already in PIE, metanalysis of the *n*-infix resulted in the rise of certain *n*-suffixes, reflected e.g. in OE *irnan* < **ri-nw-anan*, one of which came to be productive in Gmc, giving rise to the fourth class of weak verbs in East and North Germanic, though the category of verbs with *n*-suffix in WGmc leaves only relics like OE *wæcnan* 'awake' (pret. *wōc*) and weak *hæftnian* 'take prisoner'.

[1] Perhaps also *cwician* 'animate', see Bammesberger (1986a); cf. Heidermanns (1986: 305–6).

6.4 PIE verb stems were like noun stems insofar as they could be thematic or athematic, see §2.1. In the thematic verbs the inflexions were added to a stem ending in the theme vowel **-o/e-*, whilst in the athematic verbs the endings were added to the bare root or stem. The endings were the same in the two types, except that whereas athematic verbs took the ending **-mi* in the pres.1sg. (cf. Grk *ἵστημι* 'I stand'), the thematic verbs took **-ō* (cf. Grk *λείπω* 'I leave'). A few relic formations in OE show traces of the old athematic class, e.g. Angl *dōm* 'I do' (cf. WS *dō*), but the majority of OE verbs reflect thematic formations, and original athematic formations are discernible only in a few seemingly irregular verbs, see §§6.145ff. Just as in nouns, see §2.1, the theme vowel in late PIE was in the process of becoming fused with the inflexion, and this process accelerated in Gmc, so that, for example, the PIE pres. indicative endings 2sg. **-e-s(i)*, 3sg. **-e-t(i)*, 3pl. **-o-nt(i)* developed into unitary inflexions **-is*, **-iþ*, **-anþ* in PGmc, no longer analysable as theme vowel + inflexion.[1] The change in the nature of conjugational inflexion, however, had fewer consequences than the corresponding change in declensional inflexion.

[1] Alternatively, Howren (1967) offers a synchronic account of EWS weak verbs as comprising base + theme + derivational suffix + inflexional suffix, thereby fairly approximating the conjugational structures of PIE in EWS. This allows him to identify, for example, *-þ* as the sole form of the pres.ind.3sg. inflexion, rather than as one of a group of 3sg. inflexions including *-eþ* in light-stemmed verbs of the first weak class and *-aþ* in verbs of the second weak class. This requires, however, a high degree of abstractness in underlying forms, and at all events the distinction between theme and derivational suffix is implausible because the two are in complementary distribution. Rather, Kastovsky (1996a: 37–9; 1996b: 279) is surely right that segmentations like *trymm-an*, *luf-ian* are required in a synchronic analysis.

6.5 In PIE, the different tenses were characterized in part by different ablaut grades of the verb root, in part by suffixation and/or prefixation, and in the perfect by a different set of inflexions. In Gmc, verbs inherited from PIE continued to exhibit these characteristics, though with important modifications, and some new verbs came to be conjugated like these on the basis of analogy, e.g. *sċrīfan* 'prescribe', borrowed from Lat *scrībere* 'write' and conjugated according to the first class of strong verbs.[1] But the vast majority of new verbs adopted a different method of tense-formation, whereby the present and preterite stems were distinguished only by marking the preterite by the addition of a dental suffix, generally **-ð-*, but also **-t-* and **-þ-*, see firstly §6.79. The two types of preterite-formation thus distinguish two broad types of verbs in the Gmc languages, the ablauting sort generally referred to as strong verbs, the type with dental preterite as weak verbs. The two broad types are further classifiable as comprising various subtypes, but the distinctions amongst the subtypes for the most part have their basis in Gmc phonological developments rather than differences observable in PIE. In OE, a few verbs could undergo change of class within the broad category of strong verbs, see, inter alia, §§6.45, 6.53, but aside from the few examples cited in n1, new strong verbs were not created, so that the category of strong verbs had become, effectively, a closed class. Rather, quite a few strong verbs already in OE show a tendency to be remade as weak verbs.[2] Amongst the 100 commonest verbs in OE (see §2.7), disregarding prefixes, 39 are generally inflected as strong verbs (4 in class 1; 3 in class 2; 8 in class 3; 3 in class 4; 7 in class 5; 7 in class 6; 7 in class 7), 48 as weak verbs (33 in class I; 12 in class II; 3 in class III; but *wunian* in class II is probably in origin of class III, see §6.130), 8 as so-called preterite-present verbs (see §§6.131–44), and all four athematic verbs appear amongst the 100 commonest (§§6.145–63), plus the verb *(w)uton* 'let us' (§6.46n1). On the general restructuring of the verb system in Pre-OE and in the transition to Middle English, see Kastovsky (1996a).

[1] This is the usual assumption, though Orel (2003: 344) doubts that the word was borrowed from Latin. Mailhammer (2006) argues that a great many of the preserved Gmc strong verbs have been assimilated to the PIE ablaut pattern from substrate formations of a different nature. Other verbs that developed strong forms are the originally weak *rīnan* < *riġnan* 'rain' (pret. *rān*), *swīðan* 'strengthen' (pret. *swāð*); but not **forswītan* 'exhaust', as Ch 1519 (Whitelock 34) 44 <forswat> is an error for *forspac*: see the *DOE*: **for-sprecan**.

[2] Krygier (1994: 59–65, 246) reports that of the 367 strong verbs he found attested in OE, 61 of them display parallel weak forms 'more or less consistently', and nearly a quarter of the 367 are not attested after the OE period.

II Strong verbs

1 *Inflexions*

6.6 The paradigm in EWS of a typical strong verb, *bīdan* 'await', may be represented as follows:

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	bīde	bīde	
2	bītst	bīde	bīd
3	bītt	bīde	
Pl.	bīdað	bīden	bīdað
Preterite			
Sg. 1	bād	bide	
2	bide	bide	
3	bād	bide	
Pl.	bidon	biden	
Infinitive	bīdan		
Infl.inf.	to bīdanne[1]		
Pres.part.	bīdende		
Pa.part.	biden		

In LWS there is also an adhortative inflexion *-an* (*-on*, *-en*) functionally equivalent to a first person imperative plural, hence *bīdan* 'let us await'. Possibly this is cognate with the Got 1pl.imper. ending *-am*: cf. Li, Ru2 *wutum* (3×) beside *wutun*, etc., and see §6.46n1. In LWS there is such confusion of *-an*, *-on*, *-en* as inflexions in general that the ending could be in origin a subjunctive one, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.59ff.); but the combinative back umlaut in *(w)utan*, *-on* 'let us', on which see §6.46n1, along with the cognate form OSax *wita*, suggests otherwise.[2] In addition to the alternative forms discussed in §§6.11ff., the inflexions in the paradigm above may show normal phonological variation, e.g. final degemination and degemination between unstressed vowels (ibid.: §§7.80–1).

[1] Cosijn (1886: §70) reports that *-anne* is much more frequent than *-enne* in the EWS inflected infinitive, by a proportion of more than 4 : 1, and that the variants *-an*, *-ane*, *-onne*, *-ene* occur. PsGl(A) has only *-enne*, but back mutation points to earlier *-anne* in 58.15 *to eotenne*. In other texts there is widespread mixture of forms.

[2] This back umlaut poses an obstacle to equating *-un* with Got *-am*, since there are no confirmable instances of combinative back umlaut before *a*, only before *u*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.109). But the particularly low stress on this word (on which see §6.46n1) may have created exceptional phonological conditions, as suggested by OSax *wita*.

6.7 A regular exception to the inflexions laid out in §6.6 is that when a pronoun of the first or second person immediately follows a verb in the plural of any tense or mood, the inflexion is commonly reduced to *-e*, thus pres.ind. *bīde wē* 'we await', pret.subj. *bide ġē* 'you await', adhortative *bīde wit* 'let us two await'. There may be a phonological basis for this reduction or replacement,[1] though perhaps the functional redundancy of the inflexion when a pronoun followed contributed to the change.[2] In contracted verbs and verbs with vocalic stems, see §§6.38–41, 6.145–63, the *-e* is contracted with the stem-final vowel, with lengthening where possible, thus *fō wē* ‘we take’, *gā ġē* ‘you go’. Use of the inflexion *-e* before a plural pronoun of the first or second person is much more regular in WS than in Angl, where a variety of endings are found, including *-að*, *-as*, *-on*, *-o*, *-a*, *-e*. Nbr forms commonly lack final *-n* in the subj., or use instead ind. inflexions, see e.g. Kolbe (1912: §§211, 213).

[1] See Hogg (1992b: §§7.100, 7.85); also Walde (1900: 125n), Luick (1922: 193–7).

[2] See Horn (1921: §18), but cf. Luick (1922: 193–203; 1924: 241–3).

6.8 The forms exemplified in §6.6 may be supposed to have developed from an early WGmc paradigm of the following type:

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	*bīdō	*bīdǣ[1]	
2	*bīdis	*bīdǣz	*bīd
3	*bīdiþ	*bīdǣ	
Pl. 3	*bīdanþ	*bīdǣn[2]	*bīdanþ
Preterite			
Sg. 1	*baid	*bidī[3]	
2	*bidi[4]	*bidīz	
3	*baid	*bidī[3]	
Pl. 3	*bidun	*bidīn	
Infinitive	*bīdanã[5]		
Infl.inf.	*tō bīdannjǣ[6]		
Pres.part.	*bīdandī		
Pa.part.	*bidana		

In IGmc, distinct inflexions for the three persons of the pl., both pres. and pret., ind. and subj., were maintained, as in Gothic and NGmc, whilst in NSGmc the 3pl. ending came to serve for all three persons of the pl. in all tenses and moods, see §6.2. In the subj. sg., the second person remained discrete in OSax and OHG, whilst in OE and OFris there was syncretism of the three persons of the sg. To these WGmc inflexions may be compared the endings reconstructed for PGmc and PIE by Bammesberger (1986b: 105–7, 29–30).

[1] Formed by analogy to the 3sg.: see Bammesberger (1981), Benediktsson (1987: 307–8). For an excellent overview of the morphology of the subjunctive, see Benediktsson (1983).

[2] On the derivation of the inflexion, see Bammesberger (1981).

[3] The ending **-ī* should have been shortened and lost after heavy stems; its retention (and lowering to *-e*) in forms like OE *bunde* ‘bound’ pret.subj.1&3sg. is analogical, see Fulk (1992: 424–5), with references.

[4] In East and North Gmc the stem of the pret.2sg. does not differ from that of the 1&3sg. The WGmc form is perhaps in origin an aorist, whilst the other forms are in origin perfects, see Bammesberger (1986b: 47). The inflexion in East and North Gmc is _-t_, and this would probably have caused phonological changes producing allomorphy of the stem within the paradigm, e.g. _*rid-t_ > _*ritt_ > _*riss_ ‘rode’. This may explain why the aorist form was substituted for the perfect. Cf. Shields (1995), arguing that the WGmc inflexion, preserved in the preterite-present verbs, see §6.143, differs from the one reflected in East and North Gmc.

[5] The infinitive is etymologically the nom.-acc.sg of a (neut.) verbal noun formed with PIE _*-on-o-_, to which the case ending _*-m_ was attached; on other cases of the verbal noun, see the following note. This verbal noun stem is not found in inf. function in IE languages outside of Gmc.

[6] The inflected infinitive or gerund bears a dative _ja_-stem ending. In addition, cases of the inflected infinitive other than the dative are found in OSax and OHG, see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, §83.1).

6.9 With the following four exceptions, the forms in §6.6 directly reflect those in §6.8: (a) WS pres.ind.1sg. _bīde_ does not reflect _*bīdō_, see §6.11; (b) pres.ind.2sg. _-st_ was formed when the ending _*-is_ attracted to itself the _t_ in the construction _*-istu_ < _*-is þu_, in which _*þ_ became a stop by dissimilation from the preceding fricative, see further §§6.14–15; (c) in the subj.2sg., the WS ending _-e_ most likely does not reflect pres. _*-ǣz_ and pret. _*-īz_ but is analogical to the 1&3sg;[1] (d) the ending of the inflected infinitive should be _-enne_, with _i_-umlaut, and this form does occur. The ending _-anne_, much commoner in EWS than _-enne_, must be explained as analogical, probably to the uninflected infinitive.

[1] Cf. pres. OSax _-es_, OHG _-ēs_, pret. OSax _-is_, OHG _-īs_. If these endings had _*-s_ rather than _*-z_ in WGmc, as would thus appear to have been the case (though many assume otherwise, e.g. Campbell, 1977: §731(_b_)n1), _*-s_ should not have been lost in OE on a phonological basis.

6.10 The Gmc preterite, which is a tense, represents an amalgam of the PIE perfect and the PIE aorist, which are categories of verbal aspect, the former expressing completed action and the state that results from it, the latter momentary action. In the WGmc pret.ind., the 1 and 3sg. stems and endings are to be derived from PIE perfect formations, whilst the 2sg. and the pl. stems and endings are to be derived from PIE aorists.

(a) Indicative present

6.11 WGmc pres.ind.1sg. _*bīdō_ ought to produce OE _**bīd_, with the change _*-ō_ > _*-u_ and subsequent high vowel apocope after the heavy syllable, but this form is nowhere found. The ending _-u/o_ ought to be retained after light syllables, and it is found there in Angl, on the analogy of which it must have been restored after heavy stems.[1] WS _-e_ in the pres.ind.1sg., which is also the commonest ending in Ru1, is of disputed origin, but it is usually regarded as borrowed from the subjunctive.[2] Except in poetry and in WS texts that display some Anglian features, the only instance of pres.ind.1sg. *-o* (from *-u*) in WS is CP 397.25 *cweðo* 'I say'. The early Kt charters have usually *-e*, but cf. Ch 1510 *hāto* 'command', *biddo* 'bid', perhaps under Merc influence. PsGl(A) occasionally has *-e* for *-o*/*-u*,[3] whilst *-e* is the commonest inflexion in Ru1, though lNbr alternates *-o*/*-a*/*-u*/*-e*, as might be expected due to the merger of most unstressed vowels in lNbr, see firstly Hogg (1992b: §§6.59–62). The different treatments of the pres.ind.1sg. inflexion in Anglian, on the one hand, and West Saxon and Kentish, on the other, is entirely in keeping with developments in the 2&3sg.: in Angl, the original vowel is restored in the 1sg. as in the 2&3sg., see §§6.12–15, whilst in WS and Kt, syncope was generalized in the 1sg. as in the 2&3sg. and *-e* thereafter added in the 1sg.[4]

[1] Keyser and O'Neil (1985: 125–48) point out that final *-o* appears for *-u* in PsGl(A) only in this inflexion (the proportion is 274 <o> : 48 <u> according to Suzuki, 1988: 213), and accordingly they argue for a phonological basis for the retention of *-o*. For objections to such a phonological analysis, see Hogg (2000: 362); see also Murray (1995: 326–8).

[2] For a critique of this and other views, see Bazell (1938: 63–4), but cf. Cowgill (1965). Penhallurick (1978) argues that the subjunctive form was adopted in the first person as a mark of politeness to counter the self-assertiveness of self-reference.

[3] Cf. also 1sg. PsGl(A) *ġebidda* 'bid', also weak *forðseġċġa* 'pronounce', *onseċġ* 'sacrifice', once each, beside forms in *-u*/*-o*.

[4] This insight concerning the way developments in the 1sg. parallel those in the 2&3sg. is owing to Suzuki (1988), though his analysis is rather that in WS and Kt the domain of *u*-apocope was extended by analogy to that of *i*-apocope, which does not seem a tenable position.

6.12 In WS and Kt, in the pres.ind.2&3sg. there is regularly Gmc vowel harmony before **i*, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.6–7), or *i*-umlaut of the root vowel, e.g. 2sg. *hilpst* 'help' (inf. *helpan*), 3sg. *brȳcð* 'enjoys' (inf. *brūcan*). In addition, as these examples show, there is as a rule syncope of the high vowel in the inflexion after a heavy syllable, less regularly after a light. Amongst the heavy stems, the chief exceptions are those verbs (all weak) that have a stem ending in a postconsonantal sonorant, e.g. *timbreð* 'constructs', *frēfrest* 'comfort', see further §6.96. Otherwise, when syncope does not occur after heavy stems in WS, the cause may be stylistic, or the text containing such forms may be of Angl origin.[1] Thus, for example, unsyncopated forms are the norm in poetry, except that southern compositions alternate between syncopated and unsyncopated forms, e.g. Met 3.7 *ðringð* 'presses', 5.15 *felð* 'falls', etc., but 3.2 *swinceð* 'labours', 3.5 *forlǣteð* 'abandons', etc. Syncopated, umlauted forms are the rule in Ælfric, but unsyncopated, unumlauted forms are not infrequent in EWS, under Mercian influence, see ibid.: §1.10. On the other hand, whilst unsyncopated heavy stems represent a minority of forms in Alfredian prose, they are the norm in Bede and GD, both of Mercian origin, and in Or only in the section describing the voyage of Wulfstan to the mouths of the Vistula (Or 16.21–18.2). Amongst the light stems, syncope is least likely to occur in those stems ending in a sonorant. Yet even in these instances, syncopated forms may be quite common: e.g., *nimð* 'takes' (inf. *niman*) is twice as frequent as *nimeð*, whilst *færeð*, *fereð* 'goes' (inf. *faran*),[2] the exclusive form in Ælfric, is far commoner than *færð*, *ferð*. For details regarding the proportions of syncopated to unsyncopated forms with each sonorant, see Ringe (2002: 132–4). As regards light stems ending in other consonants, forms like *ġyfeð* 'gives' (inf. *ġyfan*) and *bideð* 'asks' (inf. *biddan*) are generally missing from WS, except in texts that show some Angl features.[3] On the situation in Angl, see §§6.15–19.

[1] See §6.15n1. The data for all dialects are collected by Hedberg (1945: 285), who finds the following proportions of unsyncopated to syncopated verb forms in texts representing the various dialects: in Kt, 7 : 131; in WS, 660 : 8782; in Merc, 883 : 39; in Nbr, 1283 : 5. He reserves as separate categories texts that show a mixture of WS and Kt features (279 : 1696) and those that show a mixture of WS and Angl features (2802 : 2500).

[2] On the vocalism of *fær(e)ð*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.79(2d)).

[3] These findings, based on the *DOEC*, are somewhat at variance with those of Brunner (1965: §358A5) and Ringe (2002: 134).

6.13 If the stem ended in a dental consonant or an obstruent, the consonant clusters resulting from syncope in the pres.ind.2&3sg. often underwent such processes of assimilation as are described in Hogg (1992b: §§7.88–9, 7.92). Thus:

(a) *-þ-st* > *-sst* > *-st*, as in *cwist* 'say' (inf. *cweðan*), *wyrst* 'become' (inf. *weorðan*); but *þ* might be restored analogically, e.g. ÆCHom II, 3 26.246 *cweðst* 'say', and the restored cluster might undergo dissimilation to *-tst*, e.g. Alc (Warn 35) 425 *cwytst* 'say';

(b) *-d-st* > *-tst*, as in *stentst* 'stand' (inf. *standan*), *hyltst* 'hold' (inf. *healdan*), and then *-tst* may yield *-st*, e.g. ÆCHom II, 45 336.36 *hylst* 'hold'; likewise original *-tst* may be so reduced, e.g. Solil 1 47.12 *onġyst* 'perceive' (inf. *onġytan*);

(c) *-g-st* > *-hst*, as in *lȳhst* 'lie' (inf. *lēogan*), *drīhst* 'suffer' (*drēogan*); this *-hst* is never spelt *-xt*, though original *-hst* is rarely so spelt, e.g. ÆHom 13.127 *ġesyxt* 'see' (inf. *sēon*);

(d) *-c-st* > *-hst* rarely, as in weak *tǣhst* 'teach';

(e) *-ng-st* > *-ncst*, as in *ġebrincst* 'bring' (inf. *bringan*);[1] cf. also Exod 29.21 †*sprenst* 'sprinkle' (weak);[2]

(f) *-t-þ*, *-d-þ* > *-tt (> -t)*, as in *hǣtt*, *hǣt* 'commands' (inf. *hātan*), *lǣtt*, *lǣt* 'leads' (inf. *lǣdan*), *fint* 'finds' (inf. *findan*);

(g) *-s-þ* > *-st*, as in *rīst* ‘rises’ (inf. *rīsan*), *frȳst* ‘freezes’ (inf. *frēosan*), also *wixt* ‘grows’ (inf. *weaxan*, where *x* = *hs*);
(h) *-g-þ* > *-hþ*, as in *stīhð* ‘climbs’ (inf. *stīgan*), *flīhð* ‘flies’ (inf. *flēogan*);[3]
(i) *-c-þ* > *-hþ*, rarely, as in *forbryhð* ‘breaks’ (inf. *forbrecan*), weak *wrehð* ‘arouses’ (inf. *wreċċan*);[4] or occasionally *-c-þ* > *-ct*, as in weak OccGl 49 656 *ofðrect* ‘presses’ (inf. *ofðryċċan*), 604 *ġehyðlę̄ct* ‘repeats’ (inf. *ġeedlǣċan*);
(j) *-ng-þ* > *-ncþ*, as in *brincð* ‘brings’ (inf. *bringan*).

A few other assimilations are quite isolated, thus PsGl(A) *ġefiht* ‘rejoices’ (inf. *ġefēon*), *onfōēht* ‘accepts’ (inf. *onfōn*), weak CP(C) *ġeypt* ‘reveals’ (inf. *yppan*).[5] Analogical restorations, however, are not uncommon, e.g. *stendst* ‘stand’, *asingst* ‘sing’, *hǣtð* ‘commands’, *arīsþ* ‘rises’, *astīġþ* ‘climbs’.

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[1] The change is attested in this verb only. Campbell (1977: §732) cites a by-form *brinst* which we are unable to authenticate, but for a phonological parallel cf. Gen 46.3 *strensta* ‘strongest’.

[2] The form is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509. See the edition of Marsden (2008: 121).

[3] In LWS this change is rare after light syllables, but Ælfric has *wihð*, *awehð* ‘weighs’, once each.

[4] As a consequence, the reverse spelling *-cð* for *-hð* is sometimes found, as in *underfēcð* ‘accepts’ (inf. *underfōn*), *forswylcð* ‘swallows’ (inf. *forswelgan*).

[5] The forms in Bo and Met reported by Brunner (1965: §359A9) as illustrating the change of *-þ* to *-t* after *-h-*, *-f-* are not to be found in the *DOEC*.

6.14 Since high vowel syncope is not to be expected in a final syllable closed by one or more consonants, the likeliest explanation for syncopated verb forms in pres.ind.2&3sg. is that the syncope originated in phrases in which a pronoun followed and received greater stress than the preceding inflexion, e.g. **brūcis þū* ‘you enjoy’, **bindiþ hē* ‘he binds’. In the second person, at least, such phrases could be lexicalized, producing forms like Li *ġesiistu* ‘you see’, *cuoeðestu* ‘you say’.[1] Especially in relatively early texts, in fact, e.g. CP(H), the 2sg. ending frequently takes the form *-sð*; and for the most part, Angl texts retain a form of the ending without final *-t*, but see §6.17. Although there is no comparable lexicalization evidenced by spellings in the third person, the same conditions for syncope should have been found there, since they are also attested by spellings of the 1sg. like Beo *wēn iċ* (for *wēne iċ*) ‘I expect’ (2×) and Li *forġeldiġ*[2] ‘I repay’, *williċ* ‘I will’, for *forġeldo iċ*, *wille iċ*.[3] Suzuki (1988: 218–19) offers compelling parallels in the Older Futhark and all the older WGmc languages. Since a pronoun would not have followed the verb under all circumstances, presumably the alternation between syncopated and unsyncopated forms was eliminated in WS and Kt by the analogical extension of the syncopated forms to all syntactic environments. This analysis explains why syncope is regular only in verbs with heavy stems, since syncope after light syllables was late and sporadic at best, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.67–9). For an alternative view, see n3.

[1] The assumption here is that *-st-* behaves like a unitary phoneme, the way it does in syncopated WS superlatives like *hȳhsta* 'highest', *nȳhsta* 'next', see Hogg (1992b: §6.24.2), and in regard to the lOE or eME shortening of long vowels in closed syllables, since it does not cause shortening of a preceding vowel (cf. PDE *waste*, *most*, *least*, etc.). As for the third person, Luick (1922: 196–7) proposed that a phrase like **bindiþ hē* was pronounced **bindiþē*.

[2] On this spelling, see Hogg (1992b: §7.52).

[3] This explanation was first advanced by Walde (1900: 125n1). See Fulk (1992: §§319–21) for discussion and references. The objection of Ringe (2002: 127–31) that postpositive prepositions occurred too infrequently to induce the analogical spread of syncope does not seem compelling, considering the high frequency of postpositive pronouns in the *DOEC* (e.g., *þū* and *ðū* are enclitic upon a verb in the pres.ind. more than 100 times in ÆCHom, and by no means only in questions), and considering that explaining why WGmc has the 2sg. inflexion **-is* rather than **-iz* is difficult without the assumption that **-z* was devoiced before **þu*, see Fullerton (1975), and cf. **þrūtez-fellan* > Got *þrūtsfill*, OE *þrūstfell* 'leprosy'. Ringe's own explanation demands the assumption of forms with no reflexes in Gmc: thus, he argues that the final vowel of PIE pres.ind.2&3sg. inflexions **-si*, **-ti* was preserved up to the time of Pre-OE syncope, and syncope and apocope applied categorically to forms like **rīki(j)u* and **hauƀudu*, so that OE *rīċu*, *hēafod*, *hēafdu*, *hēafodu* must all be regarded as analogical replacements of **rīċ*, **hēafd*. The hypothetical elements of this are plainly numerous in comparison to those of Walde's explanation. For counterevidence, see §6.15.

6.15 In Angl and in most poetry, syncope and *i*-umlaut (or vowel harmony) fail in pres.ind.2&3sg. verbs. They also fail frequently in non-Ælfrician LWS, though whether this is because unsyncopated forms are a mark of the elevated style characteristic of homilies (which make up the greater part of the non-Ælfrician LWS corpus), or a result of authorial or scribal dialect, is disputed.[1] Thus we find, e.g., PsGl(A) 2sg. *haldes* 'hold', *oncnāwes* 'recognize', *astīges* 'ascend', 3sg. *haldeð*, *oncnāweð*, *astīgeð*. It is usually explained that syncope occurred regularly in Angl and, along with *i*-umlaut, was subsequently levelled out of these verb forms. If the explanation offered in §6.14 is correct, however, it is likelier that syncope was never widespread in Angl. If widespread syncope was levelled out, it would be surprising to find that *i*-umlaut was not levelled out at the same time, since the early Merc glossaries show sometimes *i*-umlaut or Gmc raising of **e* before **i* but no syncope in relevant forms, thus EpGl *sċripit* 'scratches', *milċiþ* 'milks', also weak *cāēlith* 'cools'. Assuming that syncope was never widespread in Angl explains why in heavy stems syncope is found in the second person only when a pronoun follows,[2] thus PsGl(A) *aċers ðū* 'you turn away', Li *ġehērs ðū* 'you hear', both weak.[3]

[1] For discussion, see Fulk (2008: 84; 2010a; forthcoming).

[2] An exception is the Merc MtGl(Ru) 27.11 *cwiðst*.

[3] These reasons tell against the hypothesis of Ringe (2002) that all heavy-stemmed verbs underwent syncope, with extensive analogical restoration in Anglian, on which see §6.14n3. Further issues are discussed in Fulk (1992: §§319–21; 2010c).

6.16 Except in contracted verbs, see §6.40, in PsGl(A) syncope is found only in *cwið*, *cyð* 'says', where umlaut is also maintained. Syncopated *cwið* is also found in poetry and in LWS texts that otherwise commonly employ Anglian unsyncopated verb forms, e.g. the Blickling and Vercelli Homilies. In a number of instances PsGl(A) retains *i*-umlaut in unsyncopated forms, but only when the umlauted vowel is *i*, e.g. *bireð* 'bears', *ġildeð* 'pays', *ites* 'eat', *swilteð* 'dies', *trides* 'tread', *fortrideð* 'treads down'. A few syncopated forms are in evidence in Ru1, e.g. *cwiðst* 'say', *cwið* 'says', *cymð* 'comes', *ġewyrð* 'becomes', all with umlaut, and all alongside unsyncopated and unumlauted forms of the same verbs, whilst Nbr has a syncopated verb perhaps only in Li *ġehērs ðu* 'you hear' and *ċēið* 'calls', perhaps Ru2 *ġiċeeð* (or *ġiċēeð*?) 'calls', probably not Li *ġehē̆ht ł hǣt* 'commands'.[1] In eKt, under Merc influence, verbs are unsyncopated, but in OccGl 49 verb forms are generally like WS ones, though *e* (sometimes spelt <y>, see Hogg, 1992b: §5.194) may be restored, e.g. *ċyrð* 'turns', *ġelpð* 'boasts', *tret* 'treads'; and sometimes *-et* appears for *-eð*, e.g. *forberet* 'humours', *aweġet* 'weighs', see §6.18.

[1] The gloss is on Lat *imperat* pres., but *ġehē̆ht* can only be preterite, and so *hǣt* may be, too: cf. WS *hēt*, and on *ǣ* for *ē* in Li, see Stolz (1908: §6). On some doubtful instances of syncopated forms of *cweðan* in Li, see Hedberg (1945: 211).

6.17 The earlier form of the pres.ind.2sg. ending *-(e)s*, without final *t*, is found in some early texts such as the early Merc glossaries, and cf. Kt OccGl 49 852 *aġelts ðu* 'you repay', also weak 136 *ðu on arets* (for *asets*, see Kalbhen, 2003: 171) 'you set on'. The change of the ending from *-(e)s* to *-(e)st* appears to have begun in contracted forms, see §6.40. Thus, for example, PsGl(A) has *onfōēst* 'accept' and *ġesīst* 'see', otherwise only forms in *-(e)s*. In Ru1, *-(e)s* and *-(e)st* alternate, whilst the latter is uncommon in Nbr, found chiefly in contracted forms, e.g. Li *ġesiist* beside *ġesiistu* 'you see'.

6.18 In the very earliest texts, the 3sg. ending may still be spelt with <i>, as in LRid 3 *hlimmith* 'resounds'. Spellings with <i> are sporadic in later Angl. As the example illustrates, the final sound may be written <th> in early texts, especially in the early Merc glossaries. In those, as well as in various Angl texts, and with weak verbs in CP, the spelling may occasionally be with <t> or <d>, e.g. Ru2 *ġiscīnet* 'shines', *fallet* 'falls', Ru1 *cymid* ‘comes’. The form *-et* also occurs in Kt OccGl 49, see §6.16.[1] At least in texts later than the early Merc glossaries, the variant in <d> may be due to scribal error, as failure to cross the upstroke of <ð> is a common scribal mistake.

[1] The ending *-et* probably originated as a sandhi variant before words beginning with fricatives, where [θ] would have developed to [t] by dissimilation.

6.19 In lNbr, there is much variation in the spelling of the vowels of all the verb inflexions, so that the pres.ind.2sg. inflexion may be *-es*, *-as*, *-æs*, the 3sg. *-eð*, *-að*, *-æð*, with comparable variation in the latter inflexion also in the Merc Ru1. Furthermore, in Nbr the 2sg. ending frequently replaces the 3sg., e.g. *cuoeðas*, *-es*, *-æs* beside *cuoeðað* ‘says’, a change that became the basis for the ‘northern subject rule’ first observable in ME. This equivalence led to the occasional use of endings in *-ð* in the 2sg., thus Li *ġelēfeð*, DurRitGl *ġilēfeð* ‘believe’.[1]

[1] For a thorough treatment of the 2sg. endings, see Flasdieck (1934). The origin of the inflexions in *-s* is much contested. They are very commonly said to be the result of Scandinavian influence. For counterarguments, with references, see D. Miller (2002).

6.20 The pres.ind.pl. inflexion *-að* has the same variants that are to be expected on the basis of the variants of 3sg. *-(e)ð*, see §§6.18–19. Thus, *-ad* and *-at* occur occasionally, as in PsGl(A) *bicumad* ‘occur’, *cweoðad* ‘say’, weak CP(H) *lǣrat* ‘teach’, and the vowel of the ending is spelt variously in lNbr and in Ru1, as in *-að*, *-eð*, *-ęþ*. In addition, the *-s* that has spread from the pres.ind.2sg. to the 3sg. has also spread not infrequently to the plural in lNbr, as in Li *cueðas* ‘say’, *cym(m)es*, *cymæs* ‘come’.

(b) Indicative preterite

6.21 Pret.ind.2sg. *-e* reflects WGmc **-i*, which should have been lost after a heavy syllable, e.g. **bindi* (*þū*) ‘(you) bound’. Presumably it was restored by analogy to the ending retained after light syllables, as with **witi* > *wite* (*ðū*) ‘(you) departed’, cf. §6.11 on the similar analogical development in the Angl pres.ind.1sg. Although pret.ind.1&3sg. -Ø properly results from the PGmc loss of the PIE perfect inflexions **-a* and **-e*, respectively, WGmc 2sg. **-i* most likely reflects the PIE thematic aorist ending **-e-s* > PGmc **-iz*.[1] East and North Gmc, by contrast, retain a 2sg. ending *-t* derivable, with some analogical levelling, from the PIE perfect, see Krahe and Meid (1969: II, §73), and this is preserved in OE preterite-present verbs, see §6.142. Occasionally *-e* is omitted when the pronoun *ðū* immediately follows, e.g. ÆGram 224.4, 232.2 *cōm ðu* ‘did you come’, Soul I 17 *druh ðū* ‘did you suffer'. Possibly this is due to a reduction similar to that before an enclitic pronoun described in §6.7, but perhaps it is due in some instances simply to scribal misapprehension of the construction as imperative. In lNbr and in Ru1 the weak pret.2sg. ending *-es(t)* may be attached to verbs of the seventh class with a stem ending in *t*, as in Li *hē̆htes* 'commanded', *forleortes* (beside *forleorte*) 'let'.

6.22 Pret.ind.pl. *-on* is the development of earlier *-un*, the latter of which is rare in WS but frequent in the early Merc glossaries and in PsGl(A). The variant *-an*, not uncommon in EWS, occurs in all dialects, and *-en* is to be found occasionally in Angl texts. Final *-n* is not generally lost from this ending in Nbr, except in RuneRuthwellA *cwōmu* 'came' and weak *bismærædu* 'humiliated'. On the use of the prefix *ġe-* with preterites, see §6.30.

(c) Subjunctive

6.23 The distinction between ind. and subj. forms is for the most part maintained in EWS, but in LWS pl. *-on* spreads from the ind. to the subj., both pres. and pret., and *-on*, *-an* are found sometimes even in EWS in the pret. In Nbr, and often in Ru1, sg. and pl. inflexions are undifferentiated after the loss of final *-n*, the plural inflexion appearing as *-e*, *-a*, *-æ*, rarely *-en*. But ind. *-on* (*-un*, *-an*) not infrequently invades the pret.pl.subj., see e.g. Kolbe (1912: §211). On umlaut in the pret.subj., see §6.25.

6.24 In EWS, beside *-en*, *-on*, *-an*, the pl. of both pres. and pret.subj. may bear the inflexion *-e*, e.g. Or 100.31 *fuhte* 'fought' pl. In the pres. this is restricted to instances in which a pronoun precedes the verb; it is commoner and more widespread in the pret. The incidence is high enough in the pret., but not the pres., to suggest that here *-e* may be etymologically correct and *-en* an analogical replacement on the basis of the pres. Campbell (1977: §473) supposes that final *-n* was lost more commonly after **-ī-* than after other vowels, and he points to the oblique ending *-e* in *īn*-stem nouns, see §2.89n1. Alternatively, loss of *-n* may have occurred in sandhi, when a consonant group was formed by final *-n* and a following word-initial consonant, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.10, 85), also Luick (1914–40: §680). But this would require analogical extension of forms in *-e* to other sandhi environments, and it would not explain why *-e* is commoner in the pret.

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[1] A difficulty with this derivation is that the PIE aorist had accent on the theme vowel rather than the root, leaving no opportunity for Verner's Law to apply to the following fricative in Gmc, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.4–5); and if PIE **-es* produced **-is* rather than **-iz* in Gmc, **-s* should not have been lost in OE, cf. developments in the pres.ind.2sg. No persuasive explanation has been offered; the comments of Barnes (1975) are generally unhelpful.

6.25 As the pret.subj. inflexions all contained PGmc _*ī_, see §6.8, umlaut should be expected in the root. Whilst umlaut is normal in the NGmc pret.subj., and it occurs in the present of some preterite-present verbs in OE, see §6.134, there is no indisputable example amongst strong verbs. The likeliest example is JnGl(Ru) 13.6 *ðwōēġe* 2sg. 'cleansed'.[1] Rather, preterite subjunctives in the earliest glossaries point to the conclusion that the endings of the present subjunctive were extended to the preterite at an early date in thematic verbs, e.g. EpGl, ErfGl 1 *suicudae* 'deceived' (weak).[2]

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[1] For a discussion of some other, very insecure examples, see Brunner (1965: §377A), and cf. Bammesberger (1982b: 414–15).

[2] See Bammesberger (1982b: 415–16).

(d) Imperative

6.26 The original Gmc. imper.2pl. inflexion was identical to the ind.2pl. inflexion. When the latter was replaced in NSGmc by the ind.3pl. inflexion, so was the former, giving OE *-aþ*. In lNbr this may also be *-as*, as in the indicative, less often *-eð*, *-es*, *-æð*, *-æs*. And of course when a 1 or 2pl. pronoun follows, the ending may be *-e*, see §6.7.

(e) Non-finite forms

6.27 On the origin of the infinitive, inflected and uninflected, see §6.8nn5–6. As might be expected, the uninflected infinitive inflexion *-an* is reduced to *-a* in Nbr, and frequently in Ru1, beside which may appear *-e*, *-æ*, *-o*. The etymological inflexion *-enne* of the inflected infinitive, which is missing altogether from PsGl(A) (which has only *-anne*), is in all dialects but lKt less frequent than unumlauted *-anne* (rarely *-onne*, *-ane*, *-ene*), see §6.9. Late Kt OccGl 49 has only *-en(n)e*. Not infrequently in poetry, an uninflected infinitive is found for an inflected one, e.g. Beo 2556 *to friclan* 'for desiring', though often scribes have substituted inflected for uninflected forms that can on that account be detected only on the basis of metrical scansion, see Fulk (1992: §3, with references). Uninflected infinitives after *to* are uncommon in prose, e.g. ÆHomM 1 55, ArPrGl 1 40.46 *to bēon* 'to be'.

6.28 Present participles are declined both definite and indefinite, the way most adjectivals are. When they are indefinite, they are inflected like *ja-* and *jō*-stem adjectives, i.e. like *wilde* (§4.32). The WGmc inflexion _*-andī_ of the present participle is reflected as *-endi*, *-ændi* (once *-indi*) in the earliest texts, e.g. weak EpGl 293 *risaendi* 'shaking' (inf. *hrisian*). Later, in all dialects it is most commonly *-ende*, with a few mostly unsurprising variants, such as *-ande*, *-onde*, *-ænde*.

6.29 Past participles are declined both definite and indefinite, like disyllabic adjectives, §§4.44ff. In PGmc, the past participle of strong verbs was formed by the addition of the suffix **-an-*, to which normal definite and indefinite adjective inflexions were added. PGmc **-an-* reflected PIE **-on-*, to which there was the ablaut alternant **-en-*, giving PGmc **-in-*, reflected in some early forms, e.g. EpGl 606 *forsleġinum* 'slain', cf. 385 *ġibaen* 'given', etc. As in this *forsleġinum*, the suffix **-in-* would cause umlaut to appear in OE words, e.g. Or 115.10 *ūtancymen* 'foreign', MtGl(Li) 11.21 *ġewoerden* 'become'.[1] The suffix **-an-* should have developed to **-un-* in PGmc when followed by /u(ː)/ in the next syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34), and cf. the cases affected in the formally similar *n*-stems, §2.84. This **-un-* could then be extended analogically to other cases, and this may be what is reflected in forms like CorpGl 2 5.390 *ġeborone* 'borne', Ruin 6 *undereotone* 'undermined', 7 *forweorone* 'decayed'; in the latter two, the back mutation in the root is difficult to explain without this assumption.

[1] The form MtGl(Ru) 14.3 **ġibroecen* often cited in this connexion is a ghost: the form in manuscript is *ġibrocen*, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 2.19, fol. 77v12 in Liuzza and Doane (1995).

6.30 There is a tendency for the prefix *ġe-* to be added to a past participle that does not already bear a prefix, though there is wide variability from verb to verb. Thus, for example, in the *DOEC* the rough proportion of past participles with *ġe-* to those without any prefix for the verb *ċēosan* 'choose' is 107 : 1; for *helpan* 'help' 3 : 1;[1] for *niman* 'take' 9 : 1; for *cweðan* 'say' 2 : 1. This tendency is very strong in most transitive verbs, though the rule is not inflexible, see Hogg (1992c: 148). Thus, for example, the ratio for the uninflected past participle of transitive *wrītan* 'write' is 9 : 1, for *biddan* 'command' 11 : 1, whilst for intransitive *cuman* 'come' it is about 1 : 20, but for *feallan* 'fall' 7 : 1. Yet there is also a tendency, though less strong, to add *ġe-* to preterites of all sorts: the rough proportion of *ġe-* to Ø- in preterites for *ċēosan* is 10 : 1; for *helpan* 2 : 1; for *niman* (1&3sg. only) 1 : 1; for *cweðan* 1 : 63. The present stem may also add *ġe-*, usually without apparent change of meaning, though this happens less frequently, e.g. for unmutated stems of *ċēosan* 2 : 1; for *helpan* 1 : 3, for *niman* 1 : 2, for *cweðan* 1 : 68. The significance of *ġe-* is much contested.[2]

[1] Unprefixed *holpen* occurs only in DurRitGl (5×).
[2] For references, see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cl, n11); also Crouch (1995).

2 *Stems*

6.31 Strong verbs are characterized by alternations in the form of the stem resulting from ablaut alternations in PIE.[1] Excluding minor variants, strong verbs exhibit no more than four discrete forms of the stem, and so for every strong verb it is conventional to list four principal parts, even when the stem is identical in two or more of those parts. The four principal parts are: (i) infinitive, containing the unumlauted form of the present stem as well as of imperative forms and non-finite forms other than the pa.part.; (ii) pret.ind.3sg., with the same stem as the pret.ind.1sg.; (iii) pret.ind.pl., with the same stem as the pret.ind.2sg. and pret.subj.; (iv) past participle.

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[1] On the derivation of individual Gmc strong verb stems, see Seebold (1970).

6.32 Strong verbs in the early Gmc languages are conventionally divided into seven classes on the basis of the patterns of vowel alternation found in the formation of present and preterite stems in PGmc. In the first six classes the variants result from ablaut alternations in PIE. The differences amongst classes 1–5 are largely due to sound changes in Gmc, since, with few exceptions, the vocalism reflects a PIE ablaut pattern *e* : *o* : Ø, with **e* in the pres., **o* in the perfect sg., and *Ø in the aorist or perfect pl. and pa.part. Class 6 departs from this pattern, but the alternations that it displays nonetheless involve ablaut variants. The unifying characteristic of class 7, as revealed by this class in Gothic, is that, sometimes in addition to showing ablaut variants, verbs originally formed the preterite with a reduplicative prefix, just as with the PIE perfect. Most verbs of class 7 showed no difference in ablaut grade between present and preterite singular, and it is for this reason that reduplication was preserved in these verbs in PGmc whilst it was abandoned in the other six classes, to distinguish more plainly present and preterite stems.[1] A few relic forms survive in OE and other NWGmc languages to show that reduplication was once to be found in class 7 in these languages, too, but they all show a regular re-formation of the method of forming the preterite, see §6.70. It will become apparent in the discussion below that a synchronic grammar of OE would have to recognize a great many more than seven classes of strong verbs, since already in PGmc the seven classes were not uniform in regard to stem formation, and prehistoric sound changes have introduced a great deal more diversity within each OE class. The sevenfold taxonomy is thus useful chiefly for historical and comparative purposes. Yet even in a synchronic grammar some regularities would have to be recognized, as evidenced particularly by instances in which stem alternations have undergone change on an analogical basis, e.g. in regard to contracted verbs of classes 1 and 2, see §6.45.[2]

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[1] See Jasanoff (2007: 243–4).

[2] Cf. Krygier (2001), reaching the opposite conclusion. On the disunity within each of the seven classes and the non-abstractness of underlying representation, see Levin (1964) and Johnson (1986), respectively.

(a) Ablaut patterns

6.33 Amongst the seven classes of strong verbs which are generally recognized in OE, in the first six the patterns of ablaut alternation and stem formation are comparatively regular. With variations explained below in the context of discussion of each individual class, the chief ablaut alternants in OE may be identified as these for principal parts (i–iv) in classes 1–6:

class	**(i)**	**(ii)**	**(iii)**	**(iv)**
1	ī	ā	i	i
2	ēo	ēa	u	o
3	e	æ	u	o
4	e	æ	ǣ	o
5	e	æ	ǣ	e
6	a	ō	ō	a

There is great variety in the ablaut patterns encountered in the seventh class, see further §6.76.

6.34 As remarked in §6.32, most of the ablaut alternations tabulated in §6.33 may be derived from a PIE alternation (i) *e* (ii) *o* (iii–iv) Ø. In class 1 this alternation takes the form **ey* : **oy* : **i* in PIE, i.e. the ablauting vowel followed by the glide **y*, for example in the root **leyp-* : **loyp-* : **lip-*, in the last of which the approximant */j/ between consonants in the absence of a vowel is realized as the syllabic allophone *[i]. In PGmc, the sequences **ey* and **oy* developed to diphthongs, **ei* (> **ī*, Hogg 1992b: §3.3) and **ai* respectively, the latter developing in OE to *ā* (ibid.: §§5.7–9), hence the OE ablaut alternation *ī* : *ā* : *i*. In class 2 the PIE alternation was **ew* : **ow* : **u*, yielding PGmc **eu* : **au* : **u*, which developed normally to OE *ēo* : *ēa* : *u* (ibid.: §§5.41ff.). In regard to *u* in this series, it remains in OE in principal part (iii), where it was followed by **u* in the next syllable in the pret. plural, e.g. WGmc **budun* > *budon* ‘commanded’, whilst in principal part (iv) it was lowered to *o* before **a* in the next syllable (ibid.: §3.10), e.g. WGmc **budanaz* > *boden*. In class 3 the PIE alternation was **eRC* : **oRC* : **R̥C*, where *R* = /r, l, m, n/[1] and *C* = any obstruent, regularly yielding PGmc **eRC* : **aRC* : **uRC*, usually with development of **uRC* to OE *uRC* or *oRC* under the same conditions as in class 2. The underlying pattern in this class is much obscured by various subsequent phonological developments, see §6.51. In class 4 the PIE alternation was as in class 3, but with a vowel rather than an obstruent after *R*, and the development was to PGmc **eR* : **aR* : **uR*,[2] again with lowering of **u* to *o* in the fourth principal part. The third principal part in class 4 (as well as class 5) does not conform to the predicted ablaut pattern, since the vowel in OE is not ****u*** but WS *ǣ*, non-WS *ē*. Of the various explanations that have been proposed, the likeliest are that Gmc **ǣ* in the plural originated in the verb **etan* in class 5 (see below), resulting from contraction of the root vowel (of the singular) with the reduplicative vowel **e-* of the PIE perfect or the augment **e-* of the PIE imperfect, see §6.70, or the vowel *ǣ* in the pret.pl. of class 4 stems from an aorist comparable to Lat *sēdimus*. Neither of these explanations is without difficulties.[3,4] A promising new direction links the long vowel to the possible influence of related gerundives in **-i-/-ja-*, e.g. the etymon of OE *-bǣre* (as in *wæstmbǣre* 'fruitful') beside *beran* 'bear', see Heidermanns (1999). The stems of class 5 are structured like those of class 4, except that the postvocalic consonant is not a sonorant. As a consequence, in the fourth principal part there is no development of Gmc *u* from a syllabic sonorant, and instead the vowel is Gmc **e*, sometimes regarded as the reflex of schwa secundum, e.g. by Prokosch (1939: §59).[5] The ablaut alternations in class 6 are plainly unlike those in classes 1–5 and do not reflect the PIE pattern *e* : *o* : Ø. They are thought to reflect in part alternations between full and reduced grades of PIE stems containing **H*, e.g. PIE **weH-dh-* > **wādh-* > OE *wōd* 'advanced' and PIE **wH̥-dh-* > OE *wadan* inf.[6] This cannot have been the only source, however, and it is unclear why there should be reduced grade in the first and fourth principal parts and full grade in the second and third. Theories designed to explain this generally rely heavily on the assumption of analogical developments.[7]

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[1] But some verbs of class 3 contain no sonorant in the stem, e.g. *feohtan* 'fight', *breġdan* 'weave', see §6.51n1.

[2] Antevocalic **R̥* (rather than **R*) should not actually have occurred after an initial consonant in PIE. It might be assumed that this is a sandhi variant extended from contexts in which the initial consonant of the verb formed a cluster with a preceding word-final consonant, with syllabification under Sievers's Law, see Collinge (1985: 159–74). Rather, Prokosch (1939: §59) explains Gmc **u* here as the development of schwa secundum before a sonorant, cf. below in regard to class 5. At all events, Gmc **u* here is unlikely to be purely analogical but would seem to have some phonological basis, given the different development in class 5.

[3] Analogy to the pret. of **etan* is the view of Mottausch (2000), supported by Mailhammer (2007: 67–86), both of whom offer a conspectus of the many explanations that have been offered. Cf. Kortlandt (1992) and Tanaka (2006), the latter with counterarguments. Derivation from an imperfect is the suggestion of Bammesberger (1986b: §7.4.4). That *ǣ* is not the original vocalism is indicated by the plurals *sċulon*, *ġemunon*, *ġenugon* of preterite-present verbs originally belonging to class 4, see §§6.136–7. On the possibility of regular lengthened grade in the singular of the sigmatic aorist in PIE, see Szemerényi (1996: §§9.4.2.1(*c*), 6.2.8 Addendum 1).

[4] Lass and Anderson (1975: 32; cf. J.M. Anderson 1970: 177) propose a phonological lengthening rule with grammatical conditioning in verbs with a single stem-final consonant. But historically, at least, the problem must have a morphological explanation.

[5] As the parallel with classes 1–4 suggests, reduced ablaut grade is to be expected in the fourth principal part, though OE *e* appears to reflect a full-grade vowel. In the presence of a sonorant, reduction of the ablaut vowel in the fourth principal part

6.35 The ablaut alternants **e* : **o* : **Ø* posited in §6.32 correspond to alternations found in the different tenses of some other IE languages. This may be seen from an examination of each of the four principal parts of strong verbs: (i) the ablaut grade **e* reflected in the first principal part of strong verbs of classes 1–5 is commonly reflected in present stems in other languages, e.g. Grk *φέρω*, Lat *ferō* ‘I bear’; (ii) the grade **o* reflected in the second principal part in classes 1–5 is found in the singular of the perfect in other languages: thus, for example, beside Grk *λείπω* ‘I leave’, reflecting the PIE root **leyp-* in the present stem, the perfect is *λέλοιπα* ‘I have left’, PIE root **-loyp-*; (iii) the reduced grade found in the third principal part in classes 1–3 is reconstructed for PIE throughout the paradigm of the thematic asigmatic aorist and everywhere outside of the singular for the perfect, which is the situation encountered in Sanskrit. Forms of the Gmc verb using the stem of the third principal part in classes 1–3 show signs of being an amalgam of perfect and aorist forms: the endings reflect PIE aorist endings, whilst the accentual alternations required to produce the consonant alternations under Verner’s Law in at least some of these classes are those of the PIE perfect, see §6.42. The conflation of perfect and aorist forms perhaps stems in part from the appearance of the reduced grade in both categories, an identity that would have been enhanced by loss in Gmc of the other PIE categorial markers, the augment (initial **e-*) in the aorist and the initial reduplicative syllable in the perfect. That separate aorist and perfect forms remained in use past the PGmc period is suggested by the observation that the 2sg.pret. in East and North Gmc is to be derived from

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produces reduced grade in the form of a PIE syllabic sonorant. When no sonorant (or laryngeal consonant, see n6 below) is present, reduction of the ablaut vowel would normally produce zero grade, i.e. non-syllabicity. If reduced syllabicity were somehow maintained in the absence of a sonorant, perhaps on an analogical basis, the result would be a vowel referred to as schwa secundum, often written *ь* or $_e$ and presumably representing [ə]. (On schwa primum, see below, n6.) Schwa secundum was subsequently realized as a full-grade vowel. The rationale for positing the existence of a schwa secundum is doubted by many, e.g. Szemerényi (1996: §4.1.11). It seems necessary, however, to account for a form like Grk *πεπτός* ‘cooked’, which, being a pa.part., ought to have reduced grade in the root. Mottausch (2000: 53), supported by Mailhammer (2007: 68–9), argues, to the contrary, that full-grade *e* in the pa.part. of verbs of class 5 is of relatively late analogical origin.

[6] **H* is referred to as a ‘laryngeal consonant’, perhaps one of several such consonants, perhaps not actually laryngeal in nature, presumably a fricative of some sort, see Lindeman (1987). The syllabic form **H̥* corresponds to shwa primum (**ə*) in earlier reconstructions of PIE, since it was once thought simply to have been a vowel. Its reflex in Gmc stressed syllables is *a*. **H* was lost after a vowel, with compensatory lengthening, producing **ē*, **ō*, or **ā*.

[7] See, e.g., Prokosch (1939: §60), Bammesberger (1986b: 54–8). On the Gmc *a*-verbs see also Austefjord (1987), Mottausch (1996), Mailhammer (2007: 89–103), with references.

a PIE perfect, whilst that in WGmc reflects an aorist form, see §6.8n4. As for the long vowel in the third principal part in classes 4–5, this perhaps derives in part from the class of PIE athematic asigmatic aorists, cf. Grk *ἒ-στη-ν*, Sanskrit *a-sthā-m* 'I stood'; it is paralleled in Lat perfects like *vēni* 'I came', *sēdi* 'I sat', etc.,[1] but see the discussion in §6.34; (iv) the reduced grade found in the fourth principal part of verbs of classes 1–6 is what is found in PIE verbal adjectives in **-to-* and **-no-*, the latter of which represents the origin of the *-n-* that marks the past participles of Gmc strong verbs: cf. Grk *κλυ-τός* 'renowned', related to the verb *κλύω* 'I hear', and Sanskrit *anna-* 'food' < **ad-na-*, to the verb root *ad-* 'eat'.

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[1] See the discussion in Prokosch (1939: §57).

6.36 Even in classes 1–5, not all strong verbs form the first principal part on the basis of the PIE ablaut grade **e*, for a number reflect the PIE reduced grade, e.g. *brūcan* 'enjoy' for expected ***brēocan* in class 2, *murnan* 'mourn' for expected ***meornan* < **mernan* in class 3.[1] These are the so-called aorist presents.[2] Examples are to be found in several strong verb classes; the relevant verbs are identified below in the individual discussion of each strong class, §§6.44, 6.48, 6.52, 6.59, 6.72. In addition to reduced grade in the root, relevant verbs show the effects of Verner's Law (Hogg 1992b: §§4.4–5), due to accent on the theme vowel in PIE, see n2.

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[1] *Murnan* correctly shows the reflex of the PIE reduced grade **mr̥n-*, whilst *brūcan* shows a long vowel for an expected short. The reason is disputed, but Prokosch (1939: §55; so also Hogg, 1992c: 153) argues that the long vowel in the first principal part of verbs of class 1 (and the long diphthong in corresponding full-grade forms of verbs of class 2, might it be added?) served as a model for analogical lengthening. Campbell (1977: §736(*b*)) seems to envisage replacement of **ēo* (rather than **u*) by *ū*, on the proportion Gmc **ī* ~ **ai* (class 1) : **ū* ~ **au* (class 2).

[2] Sometimes referred to as the *tudáti* type (Sanskrit *tudáti* 'strikes'). 'Aorist' here refers to aspect rather than tense: theoretically, a present stem might be either durative in aspect, and thus formed with full grade of the root, or momentary (i.e., aorist), and thus formed with reduced grade of the root and accent on the thematic vowel, as with *tudáti*. Accordingly, we find side by side durative **gerbh-* in OE *ċeorfan* 'carve' and aorist **gr̥bh-* in Grk *γράφω* 'I write'. In Gmc, the more frequently used of the two present stems was generalized, though which of the two was more frequent varied from verb to verb according to its semantics. This is the usual explanation. Cf., however, Bammesberger (1984b), who argues that the *tudáti* type represents an innovation in both Indic and Germanic. He suggests that the reduced-grade roots originated in the *nt*-participle of athematic verbs and spread because of the similarity of the *nt*-formations to the pres.3pl. of thematic verbs. To the contrary, Mailhammer (2006: 8–13; 2007: 117–38) argues that the co-occurrence of stems with reduced and full grade in Gmc indicates that the latter are re-formations of the former, which must then have been rather commoner in PGmc. Learned but unconvincing is the analysis of Vine (1985).

(b) Variant stem types

(i) Weak presents

6.37 The suffix **-yo-* (> Gmc **-ja-*) could be added to a verbal or nominal root in PIE to form a present verb stem.. The result in WGmc is *i*-umlaut of the root vowel (or raising of *e* to *i* in PGmc, Hogg, 1992b: §3.6), as in OE *wēpan* 'weep', cf. the noun *wōp* 'cry', and *biddan* 'pray', cf. *ġebed* 'prayer'. In addition, if **-ja-* followed a light syllable, it would cause gemination of a stem-final consonant other than /r/. Thus, for example, a WGmc infinitive of a verb of class 6 was **xav-j-an*, producing OE *hebban* 'lift', with gemination and umlaut, though the other principal parts (*hōf*, *hōfon*, *hafen*) are the normal ones expected of verbs of class 6, since the **-ja-* suffix was attached only to the present stem. Because Gmc **-ja-* is formally identical to the causative suffix used to form weak verbs of the first class, strong verbs bearing this suffix are inflected in the present the same way weak verbs of the first class are, see §6.80. They are therefore referred to as strong verbs with weak presents. The present tense of *hebban* was inflected as follows in LWS:[1,2]

	Indicative	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	hebbe	hebbe	
2	hef(e)st	hebbe	hefe
3	hef(e)ð	hebbe	
Pl.	hebbað	hebben	hebbað
Infinitive		hebban	
Pres.part.		hebbende	

Verbs with weak presents are best attested in classes 5–6, though they originally appeared much more widely. The relevant verbs are identified below in the individual discussion of each strong class, §§6.55, 6.63, 6.65, 6.67, 6.74.

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[1] Not all forms are attested, but parallels in other verb paradigms leave no doubt.

[2] On the historical development of paradigms like this, see §6.82.

(ii) Contracted verbs

6.38 Since [h], the lenition of [x], was lost between voiced sounds in Pre-OE, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.45–51), verb stems ending in [x] were subject to this loss. After a loss between vowels, vowel contraction (hiatus resolution) occurred, and verbs in which this development took place are generally referred to as contract(ed) verbs or verba contracta.[1] In such verbs, [x] perhaps originally occurred only in the stems of the first and second principal parts, due to the effects of Verner's Law, see §6.42, and intervocalically (i.e., in leniting position) only in forms of the present stem. Thus, although there is contraction in, for example, *flēon* < **flēohan* 'flee', the other principal parts show no contraction: *flēah*, *flugon*, *flogen*. The following are representative EWS paradigms of the present stems of the verbs *wrēon* 'cover' (class 1), *sēon* 'see' (class 5), *slēan* 'strike' (class 6), *fōn* 'take' (class 7):

Indicative

Sg. 1	wrēo	sēo	slēa	fō
2	wrīehst	siehst	sliehst	fēhst
3	wrīehð	siehð	sliehð	fēhð
Pl.	wrēoð	sēoð	slēað	fōð

Subjunctive

Sg.	wrēo	sēo	slēa	fō
Pl.	wrēon	sēon	slēan	fōn

Imperative

Sg.	wrēoh	seoh	sleah	fōh
Pl.	wrēoð	sēoð	slēað	fōð

Infinitive

	wrēon	sēon	slēan	fōn

Present participle

	wrēonde	sēonde	slēande	fōnde

The differences in inflexion amongst these four examples are due to differences in ablaut patterns amongst the verb classes. The particulars are discussed, and the relevant verbs listed, below in the individual discussion of each strong class, §§6.45, 6.49, 6.53, 6.62, 6.66, 6.73. Note that in WS there is no contraction in the pres.ind.2&3sg., where instead *h* is preserved, for disputed reasons, see Hogg (1992b: §7.51), and cf. Fulk (2010b).

[1] On vowel contraction, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.131–49), with the qualification offered in §3.26n1 of the present volume.

6.39 The paradigms in §6.38 may be derived from WGmc paradigms of the following types:

Indicative

Sg. 1	*wrīxō	*sexwō	*slaxō	*fā̃xō
2	*wrīxis	*sixwis	*slaxist	*fā̃xis
3	*wrīxiþ	*sixwiþ	*slaxiþ	*fā̃xiþ
Pl. 3	*wrīxanþ	*sexwanþ	*slaxanþ	*fā̃xanþ

Subjunctive

Sg. 3	*wrīxē	*sexwē	*slaxē	*fā̃xē
Pl. 3	*wrīxēn	*sexwēn	*slaxēn	*fā̃xēn

		Imperative		
Sg.	*wrīx	*sex	*slax	*fā̃x
Pl.	*wrīxanþ	*sexwanþ	*slaxanþ	*fā̃xanþ
		Infinitive		
	*wrīxan	*sexwan	*slaxan	*fā̃xan
		Present participle		
	*wrīxandī	*sexwandī	*slaxandī	*fā̃xandī

Most of the forms in the paradigms in §6.38 develop as expected out of these WGmc forms, with the adjustments explained in §§6.9ff. The diphthong in forms like *slēan* < WGmc **slaxan* poses some difficulty, but it would appear that breaking of **æ* to **ea* in Pre-OE **sleaxan* antedates restoration of *a*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.38), and cf. Fulk (2010b).[1]

[1] It must not be supposed instead that /x/ was lenited and lost before the restoration of *a*, since the latter is an early development, antedating initial palatalization, whilst the loss of [h] is a late development, see Hogg (1992b: §§7.50–1).

6.40 In Angl, where there was no syncope in the pres.ind.2&3sg., there is instead generally loss of *h* and vowel contraction, e.g. PsGl(A) *ġesīst*, *ġesīð* 'see(s)', though in contracted verbs there is not uncommonly either restoration of the vocalic ending as a separate syllable or sporadic preservation of hiatus upon loss of [h], e.g. PsGl(A) *ġesieð* 'sees', Li *flīið* 'flees', see Hogg (1992b: §5.133). Forms retaining *h* in the pres.ind.2&3sg. occur sporadically in Merc, e.g. PsGl(A) *ġefihð*, *ġefiht* 'exults' (beside *ġefīð*), *onfōēht* 'accepts' (beside *onfōēð*), Ru1 *ġesihst*, *ġesihþ* 'see(s)' (beside *sīs*, etc.). Conversely, forms of the Anglian type occur in a small number of instances in Kt OccGl 49 beside the WS type, thus *forsīoð* 'despises', *aflīð* 'flees'. Also in Angl there occur pres.ind.1sg. forms in *-m*, thus PsGl(A) *flēom* 'I flee', Li *sīum*, *sēom* 'I see' (but Li *fōe* 'I take'). These can only be by analogy to *bēom* 'I shall be' and *dōm* 'I do', on the basis of the consideration that *bēo-* and *dō-* were plainly analysable as the stems of these.[1]

[1] Hence, not by analogy to Angl *eam*, *am* 'I am', which can only have been monomorphemic. On this issue, see Hogg (2003: 78–80).

6.41 On contraction in forms of *būan*, without loss of [h], see §6.72. The verb *fēolan* 'penetrate', from **feolhan*, shows loss of [h] and compensatory lengthening, see firstly Hogg (1992b: §7.45). The other principal parts, *fealh*, *fulgon*, *folgen*, are comparable to those of contracted verbs, see §6.38. In Angl there is smoothing in the pres.ind.2&3sg. and in the subj. because a front vowel originally followed, see ibid.: §5.100. Thus we find

PsGl(A) 68.14 *fēle* subj., DurRitGl *ætfēla* subj., also ind.3sg. PsGl(A) *ætfīleð* < **-fiulxiþ*, see ibid.: §5.24. There also occur PsGl(A) *ætfēlun* pret.pl. and poetic *befolen* pa.part., as if to a verb of class 4.

(iii) Alternations under Verner's Law

6.42 Verner's Law affects stems with post-nuclear, originally voiceless fricatives, see §§4.4–5. The consonants affected are Gmc */f, θ, s, x/, which render lOE [v, d, r, ɣ][1] when subject to the law; but the distinction between [f] and [v] eventually was eliminated by the WGmc voicing of [f], see Hogg (1992b: §7.44). In the first three classes of strong verbs, the unaffected consonant remains in the first two principal parts, the affected in the remainder, e.g. *snīðan*, *snāþ*, *snidon*, *sniden* 'cut' and *ċēosan*, *ċēas*, *curon*, *coren* 'choose'. In the other classes the distribution is not so regular, see §§6.65–6. The effects of Verner's Law are very commonly levelled away, e.g. in the paradigms of *rīsan* 'rise' and *wrīðan* 'twist'. A converse regularization of the paradigm is particularly notable in Angl in contracted verbs, where the analogical pressure to extend <g> from principal parts (iii–iv) was strong, e.g. Ru1 *onwrīgan* inf., Li *oferwrīgað* 'cover' pres.pl.[2]

[1] Gmc */θ/ when voiced to */ð/ renders WGmc /d/, see Hogg (1992b: §4.17); Gmc. */s/ when voiced to */z/ was subject to rhotacism, see ibid.: §4.15–16.

[2] For a detailed analysis of the inchoate loss of alternations in OE verbs under Verner's Law, see Adamczyk (2004), although in connexion with her conclusions it must be remembered that there is considerable scholarly disagreement about whether the pattern observable in classes 1–3 (non-voicing in principal parts i–ii, voicing in iii–iv) is to be expected in classes 4–7, see e.g. Prokosch (1939: §20d), and cf. Hogg (1975). See below, firstly, §§6.65–6.

(c) Classes of strong verbs

(i) Class 1

6.43 The first class of strong verbs evinces an ablaut pattern reflecting a PIE ablauting vowel plus */j/ (> PGmc **i*), see §6.34. It may be exemplified by the principal parts of *stīgan* 'climb':

stīgan stāh stigon stigen

The form *stāh* shows final devoicing, see Hogg (1992b: §7.59ff.). The effects of Verner's Law, see ibid.: §§4.4–5, are exemplified by the principal parts of *snīðan* 'cut':

snīðan snāþ snidon sniden

The verbs *līðan* 'travel' and *sċrīðan* 'move' show the same effects of Verner's Law,[1,2] but the consonant of the first two principal parts has been levelled into the others in *mīðan* 'conceal', *rīsan* 'rise', *wrīðan* 'twist'. Contracted verbs in this class also show the effects of Verner's Law, see §6.45. In WS, a verb transferred to this class from class 3 is *frīnan* 'ask', due to the loss of /j/ before dental consonants, see Hogg (1992b: §7.71), hence *friġnan* > *frīnan*, to which analogical pret.sg. *frān* was then formed; OccGl 50.1.2 77.27 *rān* 'rained' (to weak *riġnan*) is similarly formed. ÆLS (Eugenia) 2, LS 28 (Neot) 49 *oferswāð* 'overpowered' is based on weak *oferswīðan*.

[1] But cf. GuthB 1039 *sċriþen*.

[2] See also §6.44 on **wisan*.

6.44 In WS, back umlaut might be expected in the third principal part of *belīfan* 'remain', *drīfan* 'drive', *sċrīfan* 'prescribe', but it has been levelled away, whilst back umlaut is common before all consonants but /k, ɣ/ in the third principal part in Angl (and Angl-derived texts), e.g. PsGl(A) *areosun* 'arose', Bede *dreofon* 'drove', *wreoton* 'wrote'. Because of this back mutation it is possible to discern certain aorist presents, see §6.36, thus PsGl(A) *reopað* 'reap', similarly Ru1 *hriopan*, Li *ġehrioppa*, *hriop(p)að*, *rioppas*, Ru2 *riopað* 'reap';[1] likewise Li *to grioppannæ*, *ġegrioppa* 'grip'. A possible aorist present **wisan* may be reflected in HlGl D1 *forweren*, Ruin 7 *forweorone* pa.part. 'decayed'.[2] In Angl, weak preterites are sometimes found for *fordwīnan* 'vanish', *grīpan* 'grasp', *hrīnan* 'touch', *stīgan* 'climb', *ætwītan* 'reproach', mostly in Li.[3]

[1] Because of the removal of back umlaut, the quantity cannot be determined in WS *rī̆pan*. ChronE 1089.3 *rǣpon* pret.pl. is as to a verb of class 5, inf. **repan*, which would result if **reopan* with back umlaut simplified the diphthong to *e* rather than *i*.

[2] See Brunner (1965: §382A3), but note that we are unable to authenticate a form *toweosende* cited there, the basis for the assumption of an aorist present.

[3] See Brunner (1965: §382A4) for details.

6.45 Contracted verbs of class 1 mostly have principal parts like those of *wrēon* 'cover':

wrēon wrāh wrigon wrigen

Similar are *lēon* 'grant'[1] and *tēon* 'accuse'; but *asēon* 'sift' has the pa.part. *asiwen*, *aseowen* < **a-siȝwan* with PGmc */ɣw/, see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(3)). On *þēon* 'prosper' and its purported membership in class 1, see §6.53. Because of the change of *īo* to *ēo* in WS, see ibid.: §§5.155ff., and other changes, contracted verbs of strong classes 1 and 2 had the same vocalism in the present. As a consequence, already in EWS there is mixture of the two classes of contracted verbs, with the formation of analogical stems of the other class in principal parts (ii–iv). Thus, in WS, *wrēah*, *wrugon* 'covered' are commoner than *wrāh*, *wrigon*. Similar forms are in evidence for *tēon* 'accuse'.

[1] On the etymology, see Bammesberger (1982a).

6.46 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 1 include *(ġe)wītan* 'depart',[1] *rīsan* 'rise', *wrītan* 'cut, write', *stīgan* 'climb' and their compounds. Other relatively frequent verbs of this class include *bīdan* 'await', *bītan* 'bite', *blīcan* 'shine', *drīfan* 'drive', *glīdan* 'glide', *gnīdan* 'grind', *grīpan* 'grasp', *hnīgan* 'bow', *hrīnan* 'touch', *belīfan* 'remain', *līðan* 'travel', *mīðan* 'conceal', *nīpan* 'grow dark', *rīdan* 'ride', *rī̆pan* 'reap',[2] *sċīnan* 'shine', *sċrīfan* 'prescribe', *sīgan* 'sink', *slīdan* 'slide', *slītan* 'split', *besmītan* 'defile', *snīcan* 'creep', *snīðan* 'cut', *spīwan* 'vomit', *strīcan* 'stroke', *strīdan* 'stride', *swīcan* 'desert', *ætwītan* 'reproach', *wlītan* 'observe', *wrīdan* 'flourish', *wrīðan* 'twist' and their compounds; also LWS *frīnan*, see §6.43. Verbs attested less frequently include *ċīnan* 'gape', *clīfan* 'cleave', *ætclīðan* 'adhere',[3] *cnīdan* 'beat', *acwīnan* 'dwindle away', *drītan* 'defecate', *dwīnan* 'languish', *flītan* 'dispute', *ġīnan* 'yawn', *hlīdan* 'spring up', *hnītan* 'thrust', *hwīnan* 'whistle', *mīgan* 'mix', *ġerīsan* 'befit', *sċītan* 'defecate', *sīcan* 'sigh', *toslīfan* 'split', *swīfan* 'revolve', *þwīnan* 'lessen', *þwītan* 'whittle', *wīcan* 'yield' and possibly _*wisan_, see §6.44, and _*fīgan_ 'roast'.[4]

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[1] Also amongst the 100 commonest verbs is WS *(w)uton*, *(w)utan*, *uten* 'let us'. This apparently is formed with the adhortative suffix discussed in §6.6, added to the stem _*wīt-_ 'depart' shortened under low stress, with combinative back umlaut, see Hogg (1992b: §5.109). Low stress is also responsible for the frequent loss of initial *w-* in this word, and for the loss of final *-n* or *-m* in the cognate OSax *wita*. We are unable to authenticate a form *witon* without back umlaut reported as frequent by Brunner (1965: §114A6).

[2] See §6.44&n1.

[3] Attested in the pres. only.

[4] Only pa.part. *afiġen*, and so possibly to class 5 instead: see §6.63n4. A verb of class 5 would accord better with the assumption that the root is PIE _*pek_^{w}-.

(ii) Class 2

6.47 The second class of strong verbs evinces an ablaut pattern reflecting a PIE ablauting vowel plus */w/ (> PGmc _*u_), see §6.34. It may be exemplified by the principal parts of *flēogan* 'fly':

flēogan	flēah	flugon	flogen

The form *flēah* shows final devoicing, see Hogg (1992b: §7.59ff.). The effects of Verner's Law, see ibid.: §§4.4–5, are exemplified by the principal parts of *frēosan* 'freeze' and *sēoðan* 'boil':

frēosan	frēas	fruron	froren
sēoðan	sēaþ	sudon	soden

The verbs *ċēosan* 'choose', *drēosan* 'fail', *hrēosan* 'fall' and *forlēosan* 'lose' show the same effects of Verner's Law, but the consonant of the first two principal parts has been levelled into the others in *abrēoðan* ‘decay’. Contracted verbs in this class also show the effects of Verner’s Law, see §6.49. In Angl there is to be expected smoothing in principal parts (i–ii) when the stem ends in *c*, *g* or *h*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.93ff.), hence PsGl(A) *belēc* ‘enclosed’ pret.3sg., Li *eftġebēġ* ‘laid back’ pret.3sg., PsGl(A) *ġetēh* ‘draw, constrain’ imper.sg., etc. The smoothed vowel of the pret.sg. may then be extended to principal part (iii), e.g. Li *ġebrēce* ‘use’ pret.subj.sg., *brēcon* pret.pl. The resulting forms resemble pret.pl. forms of verbs of class 5, and this may be the reason that Li not infrequently has *æ* in the pret.sg., just as verbs of class 5 do, e.g. *ġebræc* ‘enjoyed’, *flaeh* ‘fled’, *ataeh* ‘drew’. The unsmoothed diphthong of the pret.sg. is also extended in Li *ġeċēason* pret.pl., *ġeċēase* pret.subj., DurRitGl *ġiċēase*. Occasionally *ī* from the earlier encliticized pres.ind.2&3sg. is extended to other forms in Angl,[1] thus PsGl(A) *flīgu* ‘fly’ pres.ind.1sg., PsGl(A), Ru1 *līgende* ‘lying’ pres.part., Ru1 *smīkende* ‘smoking’ pres.part.

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[1] For another possible explanation, see Hogg (1992b: §5.97n1).

6.48 Aorist presents to class 2 have *ū* in the first principal part[1] but are otherwise like verbs with *ēo* in the present, e.g. *brūcan*, *brēac*, *brucon*, *brocen*.[2] The relevant verbs include *brūcan* ‘use’, *būgan* ‘bend’, *dūfan* ‘dive’, *hrūtan* ‘snore’, *lūcan* ‘close’, *lūtan* ‘bow’, *sċūfan* ‘shove’,[3] *slūpan* ‘glide’, *smūgan* ‘creep’, *strūdan* ‘plunder’, *sūcan* ‘suck’ (alongside *sūgan*), *sūpan* ‘swallow’,[4] *þūtan* ‘howl’ (alongside *þēotan*). Some further aorist presents are suggested by Rid 3.28 *crȳdeþ* ‘hastens’ (cf. PDE *crowd*) and by ME *sprouten* ‘sprout’ (cf. PPs 140.10 *asprotene* pa.part.); possibly also GuthB 856 *sċūdende* ‘hurrying’ (?), if this is not to a weak verb *sċūdian*, see §6.112.

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[1] Rather than *ŭ*, see §6.36n1.

[2] The last, for this verb, only at Abbo 105.2. The pa.part *brocen* to class 5 *brecan* ‘break’ usually bears a prefix *to-*, *for-*, *a-* to distinguish it from this.

[3] Alongside <sceofan>. It cannot be determined for certain whether the latter represents *sċeōfan* or *sċēofan*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.67). A non-aorist present is reflected in Got *af-skiuban* ‘reject’, Old Swedish *skiuva*, OHG *skioban* ‘shove’; but NSGmc apparently used the aorist present: cf. OFris pres. *skūva*, Middle Low Ger *schuven*. Cf. ÆGram 137.5 *sċeūfe* pres.ind.1sg. and Mart 2.1 De 13, A. 15 *sċeufon* pret.pl. On forms like Nbr *ofsċȳfende* pres.part., *asċȳfað* imper.pl., *ofsċyufon* pret.pl., *ġesċyfen* pa.part., see Hogg (1992b: §5.68).

[4] To Li *ġeseāp* pret.3sg. cf. weak *ġesū̆pedon* pret.pl.

6.49 Contracted verbs of class 2 are *flēon* ‘flee’ and *tēon* ‘draw’:

flēon	flēah	flugon	flogen
tēon	tēah	tugon	togen

Merc has mostly generalized *ēo* where *ēa* would be expected in the paradigm of *flēon*, e.g. PsGl(A) *flēoð* pres.ind.pl., *flēonde* pres.part., although Ru1 occasionally has forms like *flēaþ* pres.ind.pl. Conversely, Nbr generalizes *ēa* where *ēo* might be expected in both verbs. Note also Li *flīið* pres.ind.3sg., DurRitGl *flīi* pres.subj., *flēende* pres.part. Kt forms are unexceptional.[1] Since principal parts (ii–iv) of *flēon* are identical to those of *flēogan* 'fly', present forms of the former are sometimes used for the latter in LWS, e.g. ÆCHom II, 6 54.70 *flēoð* 'fly', rarely the reverse, but cf. Mald 275 *flēogan* 'flee'. On PsGl(A) *flēom* pres.ind.1sg., see §6.40. As mentioned in §6.45, similarity of form in contracted verbs of classes 1–2 led to analogical creations in both classes. Thus, in class 2 we find the principal parts (ii–iv) *tēah*, *tugon*, *togen* to class 1 *tēon* 'accuse', with similar forms for *wrēon* 'cover'. There occur as well comparable forms for class 3 *þēon* 'thrive', see §6.53.

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[1] Campbell (1977: §740) regards Ch 1200 (HarmD 7) 10 *atēe* as an error. He also cites a Kt *aflīhð* pres.ind.3sg., but this appears to be an error for OccGl 49 *aflīġð* pa.part. (= LWS *aflȳġed*, to weak *aflȳġan* 'put to flight').

6.50 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 2 include *bēodan* 'enjoin', *ċēosan* 'choose', *brūcan* 'enjoy' and their compounds. In addition to the aorist presents cited above, §6.48, relatively frequent verbs of this class include *brēotan* 'break', *brēowan* 'brew', *clēofan* 'split', *crēopan* 'creep, crawl', *drēogan* 'endure', *drēosan* 'fail', *flēogan* 'fly',[1] *flēotan* 'float', *frēosan* 'freeze', *ġēotan* 'pour', *grēotan* 'lament', *hlēotan* 'obtain', *hrēodan* 'adorn',[2] *hrēosan* 'fall', *hrēowan* 'rue',[3] *lēogan* 'lie', *forlēosan* 'lose', *nēotan* 'use', **rēofan* 'break',[4] *rēotan* 'lament', *sċēotan* 'shoot', *þēotan* 'howl' and their compounds. Less frequent are forms of *abrēoðan* 'decay', *drēopan* 'drip', *ġēopan* 'ingest', *lēodan* 'grow', *lēoran* 'depart',[5] **ahnēopan* 'pluck off',[6] *rēocan* 'smoke',[7] *rēodan* 'redden',[8] *smēocan* 'fumigate', *aþrēotan* 'weary'; possibly also *snēowan* 'hasten'[9] and **cnēodan* 'assign'.[10]

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[1] On LWS confusion with *flēon* 'flee', see §6.49.

[2] Attested mostly by the pa.part. *hroden*.

[3] LWS *hrēow* pret. is best explained by the developments discussed in Hogg (1992b: §7.73).

[4] Only the pa.part. *(be)rofen* is attested, though not rarely.

[5] Only Angl and poetic, and usually weak, but cf. Ruin 7 *ġeleorene* pa.part. (for *ġelorene*, rhyming with *forweorone*, see §6.29).

[6] Preterites GuthB 847 *ahnēop* 'plucked off' and Ex 476 *ġenēop* 'overcame' correspond to forms with *ēa*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.45), as indicated by the cognate Got *dis-hniupan* 'rend'.

[7] Also with a late weak pret. HlGl F873 *rēohte*.

[8] The vocalism of CorpGl 2 9.401 *onrēod* is explained by Hogg (1992b: §5.45).

[9] Only And 242, 1668, but cf. And 505, OrW 62 *snōweð* pres.3sg., the latter suggesting a verb of class 7, like ON *snúa* 'turn'. See further §6.76n19.

[10] Only Bede 2 150.27 *cnēodeð*, but cf. CP 111.3 *cnōdað* pres.ind.pl. and Met 1.32 *ġecnōden*, apparently a verb of class 7.

(iii) Class 3

6.51 The third class of strong verbs evinces an ablaut pattern reflecting a PIE ablauting vowel before two consonants, the first of them usually a sonorant, see §6.34. The original pattern is most closely approximated in stems in which the post-nuclear consonant is not /r, l, m, n/ or /x/, such as *breġdan* 'move quickly':[1]

breġdan	bræġd	brugdon	brogden

The ablaut pattern may be altered, however, by the effect of neighbouring consonants on the root vowel. When the consonant immediately after the root vowel is /r/ or /x/, the result is breaking in principal parts (i–ii), as with *beorgan* 'protect' and *feohtan* 'fight':

beorgan	bearh	burgon	borgen
feohtan	feaht	fuhton	fohten

When the following consonant is /l/, breaking occurs regularly in principal part (ii), but in principal part (i) only when /x/ originally followed this or between /s/ and /l/, see Hogg (1992b: §5.22), as exemplified by *helpan* 'help', *fēolan* 'penetrate'[2] and *aseolcan* 'weaken':

helpan	healp	hulpon	holpen
fēolan	fealh	fulgon	folgen
aseolcan	asealc	asulcon	asolcen

After a palatal consonant, in WS the results of palatal diphthongization are in evidence in principal part (i) in verbs in which there was no breaking in the present, as with EWS *ġieldan* 'pay':

ġieldan	ġeald	guldon	golden

The diphthong in principal part (ii) of such verbs, however, is due to breaking, which antecedes palatal diphthongization, see ibid.: §7.71. Before a nasal consonant, **e* in principal part (i) is raised to *i*, and *u* in principal part (iv) fails to be lowered to *o*, see ibid.: §§3.5, 11, as with *bindan* 'bind', *swimman* 'swim', *singan* 'sing':

bindan	band	bundon	bunden
swimman	swam(m)	swummon	swummen
singan	sang	sungon	sungen

In such verbs, naturally principal part (ii) may have *o* in Merc, EWS and eKt, see ibid.: §§5.3–6, thus *bond*, *swom(m)*, *song*. Two verbs of this type show metathesis subsequent to the PGmc vowel changes seen in principal parts (i) and (iv), *birnan* ‘burn’ and *irnan* ‘run’:

birnan	barn	burnon	burnen
irnan	arn	urnon	urnen

Again, in Merc, EWS and eKt (also lNbr, see ibid.: §5.5), principal part (ii) may be *born*, *orn*; in LWS are sometimes found the pret. forms *bearn*, *earn*, formed by analogy to verbs like *beorgan*. Likewise when metathesis occurred later than breaking, the latter is absent, as with *berstan* ‘burst’ and *þerscan* ‘thresh’:

berstan	bærst	burston	borsten
þerscan	þærsċ	þurscon	þorsċen

Unmetathesized forms also occur not infrequently, e.g. ChristC 1114 *rinnan*, ChronE 1009.18 *toþræsċ*, as well as forms with half-breaking, see Hogg (1992b: §5.26), e.g. EWS *biernan*, *iernan*, Merc *beornan*, *eornan*, Nbr *biorna*, *iorna*, also ChronE 656.67 *ætbeorstan*, MkGl (Li) 14.65 *ġeðearsca*.

[1] It might be possible to explain *brugdon*, *brogden* as containing PGmc **ru* < PIE **r̥*, cf. *brocen*, §6.60n1, but *fuhton*, *fohten* (and similar forms in the other WGmc languages) can have Gmc *u* only by analogy. There are no verbs of class 3 without (originally) a post-nuclear sonorant attested in East Germanic; cf. ON *bregða*, *bragð*, *brugðum*, *brugðinn*, similarly *bresta* ‘burst’, *gnesta* ‘crash’. It may be that OccGl 70.2 47 *ġebreġden*, PsGl(A) 82.3 *ġebreġdenlīċe*, HomU 19 (BlHom 8) 57 *ġebreġdnan* reflect older forms of the pa.part., but since *u/o* is found in cognates in North and West Gmc, they may instead be recent analogical formations. At least some of these verbs in class 3 with a post-nuclear consonant other than a sonorant in origin have the structure of verbs of class 5, but with a suffix in the present that was extended to the other forms of the stem. Thus, e.g., to *friġnan* cf. *friċġan* ‘ask’ (without the *n*-suffix, but with a weak present); to *feohtan* cf. Grk *πέκω* alongside *πέκτω*, both ‘I shear’.

[2] From **feolhan*, see §6.41.

6.52 Aorist presents to class 3, on which see §6.36, include *murnan* ‘mourn’,[1] *spurnan* ‘spurn’,[1] and perhaps Lch II (1) 4.6.11 *forcuuolstan* ‘swallow’, though only the inf. is attested. The pa.part. of *murnan* is unattested, and cf. the weak preterites And 37 *murnde*, 154 *bemurndan*. A weak pa.part. to *spurnan* also occurs, GD 1 (C) 9.60.21 *unforspurnedum*, and the verb regularly inflects according to the second weak class in Nbr. Beside inf. *spurnan* there is found occasionally *spornan* and pres.part. *onspornendum*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.10); and beside pa.part. *spurnen* is found rare *-spornen*.

[1] There is no ***meornan* or ***speornan*, despite Bosworth and Toller (1898: **(be-)meornan, (æt-, ġe-, on-)speornan**).

6.53 There is one contracted verb of class 3, with the principal parts *þēon* (<**þīhan* < **þinxan*), *þāh* (< **þanx*), *þungon*, *þungen* ‘prosper’, originally like *bindan* before the PGmc loss of [ŋ] before /x/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.13). It is usually said that this is no longer a verb of class 3 but has gone over to class 1 (and class 2, see §6.49), with new analogically formed principal parts (iii–iv) *þigon*, *þiġen*.[1] In fact, ***þigon* is unattested in the *DOEC*, and *þiġen* just once in EWS CP 389.24 *ġeðiġene* (alongside 213.7 *ðungen*), whilst *þungon* and *þungen* are the usual forms, though these are not as common in LWS as the analogical forms *þugon*, *þogen* belonging to class 2, see §6.49. Beside pret.sg. *þāh* there occurs <þeah> several times, probably also to class 2 (i.e. *þēah*), though possibly to be explained as due to confusion of the preterites of this verb and of *þiċġan* ‘partake’ (class 5, hence *þĕah* < **þæh*), since the latter conversely adopts the pret. *þāh* in verse beside etymological *þeah*.[2]

[1] See, e.g., Campbell (1977: §739) and Brunner (1965: §383).
[2] See Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: cxlvii&n3), with references.

6.54 The contracted verb *þēon* excepted, in this class the effects of Verner’s Law, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.4–5), are evident only in *weorðan*, *wearþ*, *wurdon*, *worden* ‘become’. Rarely and only in late texts is *d* replaced by *þ*/*ð*, e.g. ÆLet4 (SigeweardB) 313 *wurðon*, LS 29 (Nicholas) 174 *ġeworðen*. Instances like Nic (C) 2 *ġeweard* pret.sg. are probably errors, as scribes often fail to cross the upstroke of <ð>, e.g. at Beo 1837, 2959, 3119.

6.55 There is one verb in this class with a possible weak present, see §6.37, EWS **ġierran* ‘chatter, make a noise’, as suggested by AldV 13.1 4337 *ġyrran*, ÆGram 214.14 *ġyrre* pres.ind.1sg. and And 374 *gurron* pret.pl.

6.56 Many Angl forms differ from WS ones in predictable ways, e.g. Nbr *worða* ‘become’, with retraction of */e/, see Hogg (1992b: §5.30), pret.3.sg. *warð* with retraction of */æ/, see ibid.: §5.29, Ru2 *ofċeorf* ‘cut off’ pret.1sg., with <eo> for <ea>, see ibid.: §5.44(1). On Bede 4 360.29 *ġewarden* ‘become’ pa.part., see ibid.: §5.34. In Nbr there are some innovative pret. forms, including strong pl. *ongannon*[1] and several weak forms, such as *strugde*, *astræġde*, *su(o)elte*, *ġesuingdon*, *ġeðringdon*, parts. *ġesuinċġed*, *ġeðrinġed*.

[1] But the pl. form LkGl(Ru) 17.27 ***drincon* in the edition of Skeat 1871–87 is in error: the ms. plainly has *druncon* (as the *DOEC* text has it), as may be seen in the facsimile (Liuzza and Doane, 1995: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS. Auct. D.2. 19, fol. 11r, gloss line 10).

6.57 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 3 include *weorðan* ‘become, be’, *be-*, *onġinnan* ‘begin’, *drincan* ‘drink’, *limpan* ‘occur’, *singan* ‘sing’, *findan* ‘find’, *irnan* ‘run’, *feohtan* ‘fight’ and their compounds. The known verbs of this class, categorized by type, and not differentiating amongst compounds of the same root, are these:

(a) Like *breġdan* ‘move quickly’[1,2] are the following: *berstan* ‘burst’,[3] *friġnan* ‘ask’,[4,5,6] *streġdan* ‘strew’,[2,7] *þerscan* ‘thresh’.[2]

(b) Like *beorgan* and *feohtan* are the following:[8] *beorcan* ‘bark’, *ċeorfan* ‘cut’, **ċeorran* ‘creak’,[9] **acweorran* ‘gorge’,[10] *deorfan* ‘labour’, **fleohtan* ‘web’,[11] *hweorfan* ‘turn’, *sċeorfan* ‘scrape’, *sċeorpan* ‘scrape’, **smeortan* ‘hurt’,[12] **sneorcan* ‘shrivel’,[13] *steorfan* ‘die’, *sweorcan* ‘grow dark’, *sweorfan* ‘wipe’, *weorpan* ‘cast’,[14] *weorðan* ‘become’.[14,15] On *fēolan* ‘penetrate’, see §6.41; on *aseolcan* ‘weaken’, see §6.51.

(c) Like *helpan* are the following: *belgan* ‘enrage’, *bellan* ‘bellow’, *delfan* ‘dig’, *melcan* ‘milk’, *meltan* ‘melt’, *swelgan* ‘swallow’, *swellan* ‘swell’, *sweltan* ‘die’, *beteldan* ‘cover’.

(d) Like *ġieldan* are the following (in EWS spelling): *ġiellan* ‘yell’, *ġielpan* ‘boast’, **sċiellan* ‘resound’.[16]

(e) Like *bindan* are the following: *birnan*, *brinnan* ‘burn’, *climban*, *climman* ‘climb’, *clingan* ‘cohere’, *crimman* ‘insert’, *cringan*, *crincan* ‘succumb’, *acwincan* ‘vanish’, *drincan* ‘drink’, *findan* ‘find’,[17] *be-*, *onġinnan* ‘begin’, *grimman* ‘rage’, *grindan* ‘grind’, *hlimman* ‘roar’, *(h)rimpan* ‘twist’, *hrindan* ‘thrust’, *irnan*, *rinnan* ‘run’, *limpan* ‘occur’, *linnan* ‘cease’, *sċrimman* ‘shrink’, *sċrincan*, *sċringan* ‘shrink’, *sincan* ‘sink’, *singan* ‘sing’, *sinnan* ‘contemplate’, *slincan* ‘creep’, *spinnan* ‘spin’, *springan* ‘leap’, **sprintan* ‘eructate’,[18] *stincan* ‘emit an odour’, *stingan* ‘stab’, *swimman* ‘swim’, *swincan* ‘strive’, *swindan* ‘diminish’, *swingan* ‘beat’,[19] *þindan* ‘swell’, *þringan* ‘press’, *þrintan* ‘swell’,[20] *windan* ‘wind’, *winnan* ‘labour’, *wringan* ‘wring’. The verb *bringan* ‘bring’, though it has a strong present (cf. weak *brenġan*), has no strong preterite, see §6.100n16, only poetic pa.part. *brungen*, comparable to some strong forms found in OHG, see Braune (1987: §336A4).

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[1] The verb *breġdan* has both strong and weak forms in the present in WS, hence EWS strong 3.sg. *brītt*, with umlaut, beside ÆCHom II, 6 53.20 *ætbrētt*.

[2] Due to loss of anteconsonantal /j/, see Hogg (1992b: §7.71), beside forms with <g> we find WS *brēdan*, *brǣd*, *strēdan*, with analogical loss of /ɣ/ in *brūdon*, *brōden*, *bestrōden*.

[3] On forms of *berstan* and *þerscan* with half-breaking or without metathesis, see §6.51.

[4] The reason for the change of **e* to *i* in *friġnan* is not known for certain (cf. Got *fraíhnan*, OSax *fregnan*; and pres. *freġn-* is the rule in Nbr): it may be that this verb has a weak present or that it has been influenced by *friċġan* ‘ask’, two possibilities

suggested by Brunner (1965: §389A3). But it may instead have to do with the nasal consonant, since *u* is not lowered to *o* in the pa.part. Yet /n/ exerts no influence on [æ] in pret.sg. *fræġn*, never ***fragn*.

[5] In WS, with the loss of anteconsonantal /j/, see Hogg (1992b: §7.71), the resulting *frīnan* prompted transferral to class 1, with the formation of pret.sg. *frān*, rarely pret.pl. *-frinon*. Also with the loss of /j/, by analogy loss of /ɣ/ could apply to principal parts (iii–iv), hence pret.pl. *frūnon*, pa.part. *ġefrūnen*.

[6] The *n* in the stem of *friġnan* is in origin a present-forming suffix, see §6.51n1, which has been extended throughout the paradigm. It may be, however, that MtGl(Ru) 12.10 *frugan* pret.pl., if not an error with omission of titulus for *n*, is a relic of the older form, though pa.parts. like *ġefriġen*, *ġefregen* are rather to *friċġan* (class 5). In the *DOEC* we find no form corresponding to the pa.part. *ġefrugen* cited by Brunner (1965: §389A3).

[7] The verb *streġdan* is regularly weak in WS.

[8] There probably was no verb **seorðan* 'defile', as Li *serð* imper.sg. may be explained as a borrowing of ON *serða*, see Jordan (1907: 36).

[9] Only MCharm 2.9 *curran* pret.pl.

[10] Only *acworren* pa.part., in Psalter glosses.

[11] Only in Lch II (1) 36.1.21 *flohtenfōte* pa.part. + adj. 'web-footed'.

[12] Only Or 1 25.20 *fȳrsmeortendum* pres.part.

[13] Only PsGl(A) *ġesnerc* pret., with smoothing.

[14] On LWS forms with *u* (infs. *wurpan*, *wurðan*), see Hogg (1992b: §5.184).

[15] Showing the effects of Verner's Law, see §6.42.

[16] Attested only in the pres., e.g. AldV 7.1 269 *onsċilþ*.

[17] In both Early and Late WS the pret.sg. is *funde*, *fundest*, i.e. with weak inflexions on the strong stem. Both strong and weak forms occur in verse, and there is some evidence that weak forms may have been used in Merc, as well, see Fulk (1992: §355(9)).

[18] Only Li *ġisprant* pret.sg.

[19] A pa.part. *sungen* is found alongside normal *swungen*, with *w* restored.

[20] But Rid 45.5 *þrindende* pres.part. There is also a pa.part. Lch II *aþrūten* which, because it is twice thus spelt in the text, may not be an error (with omitted titulus standing for *n*) but a form of a verb of class 7 **þrūtan*, cf. ON *þrútinn* 'swollen', see §6.72.

(iv) Class 4

6.58 The fourth class of strong verbs evinces an ablaut pattern reflecting a PIE ablauting vowel plus a single sonorant, see §6.34. The same PIE **e* : **o* : *Ø ablaut alternation as is reflected in classes 1–3 underlies the stem alternations in class 4, except that the vowel of principal part (iii) is WS *ǣ*, non-WS *ē*, see §6.34&n3. The stem alternations may be exemplified by the principal parts of *beran* 'bear':

beran	bær	bǣron	boren[1]

One verb shows the effect of a following nasal consonant upon the ablauting vowel, *niman* 'take':[2]

niman	nam, nōm	nōmon, nāmon	numen

In principal part (i) of *niman*, **e* is raised to *i*, and in principal part (iv), *u* fails to be lowered to *o*, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.5, 3.11), just as with *bindan* and similar verbs in class 3. In principal part (iii), Gmc */æː/ develops to /oː/ before the nasal consonant, see ibid.: §3.22; no explanation for the alternative form with *ā*, which for the most part does not appear in Angl, is generally accepted.[3] In principal part (ii), *nam* is the etymological form, despite Brunner (1965: §390A3) and Campbell (1977: §742n1), as shown by the Gmc cognates Got, ON, OHG, OS, OFris *nam*.[4] In Angl and EWS[5] this is regularly *nom*,[6] but beside this there was a form with a long vowel, as indicated by CorpGl 2 9.174 *fornoom*, with *noom* also found in ME (beside *nam*, *næm*).[7] Doubtless *nōm* is influenced by the plural,[8] but the long vowel is quite exceptional in the sg.; it may be that the model of *ō* throughout the preterite of verbs of class 6 is the cause, see Brunner (1965: §390A3), also Gough (1973), and particularly Bammesberger (1979: 426–7). Perhaps like *niman* is **striman* 'resist', attested only as a present participle in the early Merc glossaries; but the form may instead be **strīman*, either belonging to class 1 or (less likely) a weak verb.

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[1] In the pa.part. of verbs of this class, *o* is explained by some as reflecting schwa secundum, see §6.34nn2, 5, which is normally thought to develop to a full-grade vowel, but which in proximity to a sonorant instead develops to PGmc **u*. Whether or not schwa secundum is a plausible reconstruction, it should be assumed that the root had reduced grade rather than expected zero grade by analogy, on the basis of the regularity that the stem is not reduced to non-syllabicity in the pa.part. in other verb classes. See Prokosch (1939: §59).

[2] For proposed etymologies, see Szemerényi (1989: 359–68), Lindeman (2003). Because *niman* is the only indisputable example in OE of the raising of **e* to *i* before single *m*, Gough (1973) proposes that *niman* is by analogy to verbs of class 3. It is true that ON *nema* (with some comparable forms to be found in WGmc) supports Gough's position, but the effect of single *m* upon a preceding *u*, at least, is indisputable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.11), so that the phonological explanation is not implausible.

[3] But cf. EpGl 155 *naamun*, incidentally confirming the length of the vowel. Flasdieck (1930a: 287–8) suggests analogy to a form like *ġēafon* in class 5 when it was at the supposed stage **ʒāƀun* (see, earlier, Karstien 1926–7), whilst Daunt (1930: 71) suggests instead variant preterites in class 5 like *lāgon*, *wāgon*, *þāgon* as a model, see §6.61, or levelling of *a* from the sg., with lengthening, a possibility entertained also by Flasdieck (1930a: 288). A possibility that does not seem to have been entertained is that after original **ǣ* was in the course of development to *ō*, **ǣ* was restored by analogy to verbs of both classes 4 and 5, and this later *ǣ* developed to *ā* before *m*. In ON there co-occur pret.3pl. *námu*, *nómu*, though for different reasons.

[4] Such also is the view of Gough (1973). Why Brunner and Campbell should have held such a view as the opposing one is puzzling. Bammesberger (1979: 425–6) suggests that it is due to reliance on a statement by Sweet in which, however, *nam* appears to be an error for *cam*.

[5] But also EWS *be-*, *ġe-nam* (CP, Or, ChronA), despite Campbell (1977: §742n1).

[6] See Hogg (1992b: §§5.3ff.). The ME *Ormulum* in the North-East Midlands has *namm*, with a short vowel, but this is probably a borrowing of the ON pret. *nam*, cf. §6.59n4.

[7] We are unable to locate an example of LWS <nom> or <genom> that is not likely to be due to Anglian origins of or influence on the text in which it appears (there are no such forms in Ælfric), and so such spellings must not be regarded as evidence for vowel length.

[8] Similarly in Modern Icelandic, the pret.pl. stem *kóm-* has replaced ON sg. *kom* 'came'.

6.59 One verb with aorist present is attested in class 4:

cuman cōm cōmon cumen

The PIE root is *_g^{w}em-_, giving in reduced grade PGmc *_kum-_.[1] Principal parts (i) and (iv) are thus regularly developed for a verb with aorist present. The pret. forms in Angl, excluding Ru2, and in poetry are usually *cwōm*, *cwōmon*,[2] also normal in ChronA (*cuōm*, *cuōmon*).[3] Pret.pl. *cwōmon* properly reflects the PGmc form, but in the sg. the long vowel is unexpected; the length of the vowel is confirmed, however, by spellings with <oo> in CP and Bede.[4] In Angl, umlaut is often retained in the pres.ind.2&3sg., whence it has spread to other forms of the present, thus pres.ind.1sg. *cymo*, pl. *cymað*, imper. *cym*, pres.part. *cymende*, beside forms with *u*. Umlaut is also found in alternative forms of the pres.subj. *cyme(n)* and pa.part. *cymen* in Angl, but such forms also occur in EWS, and this suggests a phonological basis for the umlaut rather than an analogical one.[5]

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[1] The full grade is reflected in non-aorist Got *qiman*, OHG *queman*. The distinction, presumably, originally expressed the difference between the action of coming (durative, full grade) and the result of coming (aorist, reduced grade), see §6.36n2, both of which meanings are expressed by the one verb in OE.

[2] But PsGl(A) *forecōmun* (2×), *bicōmun*, Ru1 *cōmun*.

[3] The high frequency of this word appears to have contributed to this loss of *w* between a consonant and *ō*, a development that is not otherwise regular in WS. Analogical pressure may also have played a role: loss of *w* somewhat regularizes the paradigm, since *ō* is less anomalous than *wō* as a pret. ablaut variant.

[4] The same analogical lengthening has occurred in *nōm* 'took', see §6.58n3 for possible reasons; cf. also *ǣt* 'ate', §6.34&n3. Orm's *comm* is probably a borrowing of ON *kom*.

[5] On the possible cause of umlaut in the pa.part., see §6.29. Sievers (1882: 81–3) explains the present subjunctive of this verb as derived from an athematic optative, hence with PGmc opt. suffix *_-j-_ instead of *_-ai-_. Indeed, an athematic optative is to be expected to an aorist present. See further Bammesberger (1982b).

6.60 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 4 include *cuman* 'come', *niman* 'take', *beran* 'bear' and their compounds. Other relatively frequent verbs of this class include *brecan* 'break',[1] *cwelan* 'die', *helan* 'conceal', EWS *sċieran* 'cut', *stelan* 'steal', *teran* 'tear' and their compounds. Less common are *_dwelan_ 'err',[2] *_hlecan_ 'cohere',[3] *_hwelan_ 'roar',[4] *_þweran_ 'churn'[5] and their compounds.

[1] In pa.part. PGmc **brukanaz* > OE *brocen*, **ru* may represent an alternative development of PIE **r̥* (which usually produces PGmc **ur*) motivated by avoidance of paradigm allomorphy in the shape of the stem, see e.g. Mailhammer (2007: 68). Alternatively, **u* may reflect schwa secundum, see §6.34nn2, 5.

[2] Only pa.part. *ġedwolen*, though this is not infrequent.

[3] Only CP 47.361.20 *hlecað* pres.ind.pl. and PrudGl 1.707 *tohlocene* pa.part. The vowel *o* for expected *e* in the latter may be explained the same way as that in *brocen*, see n1.

[4] Only And 495 *hwileð*, ClGl 3.1904 *onhwileð*; cf. *hwelung* 'noise'.

[5] The pa.part. is attested in glossaries as *ġeþworen*; the part. <geþuren> 'forged' in poetry is probably in error for *ġeþrūen*, and thus is to a different verb: see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 197 note to 1285b), with references.

(v) Class 5

6.61 The fifth class of strong verbs evinces the same ablaut pattern as is found in class 4, except that the vowel of the pa.part. is *e* rather than *o*, as may be exemplified by the principal parts of *metan* 'measure':

metan   mæt   mǣton   meten

The reason for the difference is that the post-nuclear consonant is not a sonorant, and PIE reduced grade in the pa.part. is thus realized as *e* rather than PGmc **u*, see §6.34&nn2, 5. In the pret.pl., restoration of *ā* is common before /ɣ/ in WS, hence *lāgon* 'lay', *þāgon* 'partook', *wāgon* 'carried', see Hogg (1992b: §§5.39–40), but with <e> in Angl. In WS, palatal diphthongization of the root vowel is evident in all the principal parts of EWS *ġiefan* 'give':

ġiefan   ġeaf   ġēafon   ġiefen

Similar are *beġietan* 'acquire', *onġietan* 'perceive'. Palatal dipthongization is also evident in Nbr *forġeaf* 'forgave', *onġeat* 'acquired', beside undiphthongized *forġaef*, *onġæt*. Outside of WS, where palatal diphthongization does not apply there may instead be back mutation in present forms, e.g. PsGl(A) *onġeotan* inf., Li *onġeattas* pres.2pl. The effects of Verner's Law, see ibid.: §§4.4–5, are evident in *cweðan* 'say':

cweðan   cwæþ   cwǣdon   cweden

Alternations under Verner's Law are also to be found in *wesan*, the suppletive form of *bēon* that originally belonged to this class, see §6.146:

wesan   wæs   wǣron

Otherwise, Verner's Law affects only contracted verbs in this class, see §6.62.

6.62 Contracted verbs of class 5 include *sēon* ‘see’, *ġefēon* ‘rejoice’, *plēon* ‘risk’, with the following attested principal parts:

sēon	seah	sāwon	sewen[1]
ġefēon	ġefeah	ġefǣgon	
plēon	pleah		

For the inflexion, see §6.38. *Ġefēon* is an Angl verb (cf. weak WS *fæġnian* ‘rejoice’), hence usually with pret.pl. *ġefēgon*, but in poetry and other Saxonized texts <æ> may be substituted for <e> in the pret.pl.[2] Pret. *sāwon* and pa.part. *sewen* are WS forms, to which correspond Angl *sēgun*, *ġeseġen* and similar forms.[3] WS *sāwon* shows restoration of *ā*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.39); the form *sǣgon*, with substitution of WS <æ> for Angl <e>, is found mostly in poetry and in LWS texts with Anglian connexions, e.g. ChronE; cf. also Ru1 *ġesǣgon*, *-un* (4×) and *ġesāgun* (3×) beside usual *(ġe)sēgun*. Pa.part. *ġesāwen* (or *ġesăwen*?), too, presumably with <a> by analogy to the pret.pl., occurs sometimes in Wulfstan and in WS texts with Angl connexions, including GD and Bede. In the present stem, contraction with a back vowel generally results in Angl *ēa*, e.g. inf. *sēa(n)*, but Ru1 *sēon*, see ibid.: §§5.136ff. Contraction with a front vowel in Angl gives *ē*, sometimes restored to *ē̆e*, e.g. PsGl(A), Ru1, Li *ġesē̆ende* pres.part, but there is great variety in the spellings, including <eo, io, ie, ia>, etc. Nbr has pres.ind.1sg. *ġisīom*, *ġesēom*, as if to an athematic verb, see §6.40. In Ru1, Ru2 and Li, the adj. *ġesēne* ‘visible’, see ibid.: §5.124, is not infrequently employed as a pa.part., alongside *ġeseġen*; but Li *ġesē̆ene* is more likely an analogical formation based on the pres. stem *ġesē̆-*: cf. *befō̆en*, §6.73.

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[1] Note that there is no breaking of /e/ before /w/ here, and see §3.45n2.

[2] More commonly Nbr has weak *ġifēaġa* and similar forms, see §6.116.

[3] The principal parts in PGmc may be reconstructed as **sexwanan*, **saxw*, **sǣʒwun*, **seʒwanaz*, and we might expect */ɣw/ to have been reduced to /ɣ/ in the pret.pl. but /w/ in the pa.part., see Hogg (1992b: §4.9(3)). WS then generalized the one consonant, Angl the other. As for the first two principal parts, final /xw/ was reduced to /x/ in PGmc, see Hirt (1931: 115), and medial /xw/ was reduced to /x/ in NWGmc, see Krahe and Meid (1969: I, §60).

6.63 Several verbs of class 5 exhibit weak presents, see §6.37, as exemplified by *biddan* ‘ask’:

biddan	bæd	bǣdon	beden

In the present, such verbs are inflected like weak *fremman*, see §6.80, otherwise like strong verbs. Other verbs in this class with weak presents include *sittan* ‘sit’, *liċġan* ‘lie’,[1] *þiċġan* ‘partake’,[2] *friċġan* ‘ask’,[3] and possibly *_afiċġan_ ‘fry’.[4] In Nbr and Ru1 there are examples of <e> in principal part (ii), e.g. <bed>, <set>, though whether this represents /eː/ borrowed from the plural or /e/ from the pa.part. cannot be determined.

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[1] WS has pres.ind.3sg. *-līð*, see Hogg (1992b: §7.70).

[2] Beside pret.sg. *þeah*, with breaking, there occurs in poetry *þāh*, see §6.53. In WS, however, the verb is usually weak, with pret. *þiġ(e)de*, pa.part. *þiġed*, but cf. CorpGl 2 4.340 *aðeġen* ‘surfeited’ pa.part.

[3] Only in poetry. The pret. is unattested, but cf. pa.part. *ġefriġen*, *ġefræġen*, *ġefreġen*.

[4] Only EpGl 272, CorpGl 2 6.325 *afiġaen*, ErfGl 1 416, ClGl 1 2516 *afiġen*, glossing Lat *frixum*: see Hogg (1992b: §6.2n4). This would, however, be the only Gmc reflex of the PIE root _*pek_^{w}-, seen in Lat *coctus*, Grk *πεπτός*. For this reason, Bammesberger (1998a) favours the assumption that the original glossator misunderstood the Latin to mean ‘sifted’ and wrote <asigaen>, corrupted by a later copyist. Cf. §6.46n4.

6.64 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 5 include *cweðan* ‘say’, *sprecan* ‘speak’,[1] *biddan* ‘ask’, *sittan* ‘sit’, LWS *ġyfan* ‘give’, *etan* ‘eat’ (with its derivative *fretan* ‘eat’),[2] *liċġan* ‘recline’ and their compounds. Other common verbs belonging to this class include *cnedan* ‘knead’, *drepan* ‘kill’,[3] *lesan* ‘collect’, *ġenesan* ‘elude’, *sċrepan* ‘scrape’, *swefan* ‘sleep’, *tredan* ‘tread’,[4] *wefan* ‘weave’, *wegan* ‘carry’, *wrecan* ‘drive’ and their compounds. Less common are *ġefetan* ‘fall’, *plegan* ‘move rapidly’,[5] *_forrepan_ ‘take’.[6]

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[1] Cf. alternative form *specan* found in WS and Kt.

[2] Cf. Got *fra-itan* ‘consume’. *Fretan* is used of animals, not usually of humans. Both *etan* and *fretan* have WS *ǣ* in the second principal part. This is an old development, cf. Got pret. *frēt*, perhaps developed on the basis of analogy to the plural, perhaps due to contraction of reduplicated _*e-ed-_ in the PIE perfect (cf. Lat *ēdī* ‘I ate’): see Prokosch (1939: 172n6), Szemerényi (1996: 9.4.3(*b*)). MkGl(Li) 2.16 *æt* may be an analogical re-formation; cf. LkGl(Ru) 4.2 *ġieet* (where <ee> = *ē*).

[3] But Beo 2981 *dropen* pa.part., as if to class 4, beside usual *drepen*.

[4] On difficulties in the etymology, see Hamp (1974).

[5] With occasional strong forms in principal part (i), e.g. Ælfric *iċ plege*, *plegende*, *to plegenne*, otherwise only weak forms to *plegian*, _*plagian_, see §6.130.

[6] Only Li *forrepene* pa.part.

(vi) Class 6

6.65 The sixth class of strong verbs evinces an ablaut pattern unlike that in any other verb class, as may be exemplified by the principal parts of *faran* ‘go’:

faran fōr fōron faren

On the much-debated origins of this ablaut pattern, see §6.34 and the references therein. In the pres.ind.2&3sg. of verbs of class 6, *æ* for expected *e* is very common, e.g. WS *færst*, *færð*; also inf. *stæppan* ‘step’ (weak pres.).

The cause of this is contested, see Hogg (1992b: §5.80(2)). On *a* in variation with *æ* in the pa.part., see ibid.: §5.37(5). One verb of this class has an *n*-infix in the present, on which see §6.3, which is extended analogically to the pa.part. as well. This is *standan* 'stand':

standan	stōd	stōdon	standen

Another verb has an *n*-suffix in the present only, on which see §6.3. This is *wæcnan* 'awake', pret. *wōc*, *wōcon*, to which only a weak pa.part. *wæcned* is attested.[1] Contracted verbs excepted, the effects of Verner's Law, see ibid.: §§4.4–5, are evident only in verbs with weak presents, EWS *hliehhan* 'laugh' and *sċeþþan* 'injure':

hliehhan	hlōg, hlōh	hlōgon	
sċeþþan	sċ(e)ōd	sċ(e)ōdon	sċeaðen[2]

To *hliehhan* no pa.part. is attested. The pret.sg. *hlōh*, *hlōg* is ambiguous as regards the effects of Verner's Law, due to the devoicing of final fricatives and analogical (orthographic) restoration of voiced ones, see ibid.: §§7.59ff., but in *sċeþþan* the pattern is plainly quite different from that found in OE classes 1–5, with Gmc voicing in principal parts (ii–iii). There are reasons to believe that *sċeþþan* reflects the original distribution of variants rather than a disruption of a pattern like that found in OE classes 1–3.[3] On weak presents in class 6, see further §6.67.

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[1] Or 3 11.78.10 *awæcnedon* pret.pl. may be to weak *awæcnian*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.64). Brunner (1965: §392A2) cites a pret. *wæcnede*, but there are no examples in the *DOEC*.

[2] Only GenA 869, with palatal diphthongization of **æ*.

[3] See Prokosch (1939: §63) for discussion, and see §6.66 below as regards pret. *slōg*.

6.66 Contracted verbs of class 6 are like *slēan* 'strike':

slēan	slōg, slōh	slōgon	slagen

On the inflexion, see §6.38. Apparently *(-)slōg* is the earlier form of the pret.1&3sg., predominating in EWS and in Angl, replaced by *(-)slōh* in Ælfric. By contrast, *flēag* (class 2), for example, does not occur in EWS, where *flēah* is frequent. This confirms that the distribution of alternants under Verner's Law is not the same in class 6 as in classes 1–3.[1] Like *slēan* are *flēan* 'flay', *lēan* 'blame', *þwēan* 'wash'.[2] Umlauted forms of the pa.part. also occur, see §6.29, and forms with *æ*, e.g. *sleġen*, *slæġen*. PsGl(A) generally has *-ē-* where EWS has *-ieh-*, but imperative in *-æh*, whilst other

Angl texts for the most part have *ǣ*, less frequently *ā*, throughout the present, and *ā* even in the imperative.

[1] Cf. Hogg (1975). The incidence of *stāg* (class 1) in EWS and Angl, with an etymologically voiced fricative, is similar.
[2] Pa.part. *aþwogen* is normal in Ælfric.

6.67 Verbs of class 6 with weak presents, see §6.37, are *hebban* 'raise', *hliehhan* 'laugh', *sċeþþan* 'injure', *sċieppan* 'form', *stæppan* 'step', *swerian* 'swear'. Their principal parts in EWS, insofar as they are attested, are these:

hebban[1]	hōf	hōfon	hafen[2]
hliehhan[3,4]	hlōh, hlōg	hlōgon	
sċeþþan[3,5]	sċ(e)ōd	sċ(e)ōdon	sċeaðen
sċieppan	sċ(e)ōp	sċ(e)ōpon	sċ(e)apen
stæppan[6]	stōp	stōpon	
swerian	swōr	swōron	sworen[7]

Such verbs are inflected in the present like weak *fremman* but like *nerian* in the case of *swerian*, see §6.80, otherwise like strong verbs.

[1] On /bb/ in the inf., see Hogg (1992b: §§4.3, 4.13). In LWS are also found weak pret. *hefde* and pa.part. *-hefed-* in *upahefednyss* 'exultation' (beside *upahafennyss*); cf. also OrW 89 *ahefed*.
[2] Li has also umlauted *ahefen*, see §6.29, as well as analogical *ahofen* (1×); cf. also HyGl 3 62.6 *upahofene*, presumably influenced by the pret., and thus perhaps with *ō*, but cf. *sworen*.
[3] On the operation of Verner's Law in *hliehhan* and *sċeþþan*, see §6.65. On the failure of palatal diphthongization in inf. *sċeþþan*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.50n2).
[4] Angl has inf. *hlæhan*, pres.ind.pl. *hlæhað*, etc., with simplification of *-hh-* (since *-hh-* and *-h-* did not contrast after the loss of intervocalic [h]) and lack of umlaut, perhaps due to the analogy of Angl *hlæhtor* 'laughter' (Campbell, 1977: §200.3n1). Poetry has expected Angl *hlehhan*.
[5] Cf. strong pres. PPs 90.9 *sċeaðeð*; in addition, And 1147 †*sċeaðan* (emended to *sċeððan* in the text employed by the *DOEC*) may be regarded as a strong inf. There also occurs a weak *-sċeðed-* pret. and pa.part. in Beo and in non-Ælfrician LWS.
[6] On *æ* for *e* in *stæppan*, see §6.65.
[7] Expected *-swaren* is found only in LawIne 35.1. The root vowel of *forsworen* is metrically short in Beo 804. There also occurs a rare weak pret. *swerede*, *sweredan*.

6.68 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 6 include *sēon* 'see', *standan* 'stand', *faran* 'go', *sċyppan* 'create', *slēan* 'strike', *hebban* 'raise' and their compounds. Other verbs belonging to this class, in addition to those cited in §§6.65–7, are *acan* 'ache',[1] *alan* 'grow', *bacan* 'bake', *calan* 'grow cool', *dragan* 'drag', *galan* 'chant', *gnagan* 'gnaw', *grafan* 'dig', *hladan* 'lade', *sacan* 'dispute', *sċ(e)acan* 'move rapidly',[2] *sċ(e)afan* 'shave', *spanan* 'persuade',[3] *wadan* 'advance', *wæscan* 'wash'.[4] Poorly attested are *clawan* 'claw',[5] **dafan* 'suit',[6] **þracan*.[7] In addition, *weaxan* 'grow', which normally belongs to class 7, has a pret. *awōx*, *wōxon* to class 6 in Nbr and in Rid 10.3, and it is not improbable that the verb belonged originally to class 6.[8]

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[1] Attested in the pres. only.

[2] PsGl(A) *sċæcende* pres.part., *-sċecen* pa.part.

[3] EWS only in this form. In LWS it has gone over to class 7, see §6.76n12. Not attested in Angl.

[4] Also *wascan*, *waxan*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.36). There is found twice in ÆHomM 2 a pret. *wēosc*, apparently a transfer to class 7. Similarly, Brunner (1965: §392A5) reports a pret.pl. *wēoscan* in mss. of the OE Bede.

[5] Present forms only, e.g. ÆGram 170.11 *clawe* pres.ind.1sg.

[6] Only *ġedafen*, *ġedæfen* pa.part.

[7] Only AntGl 2.146 *ġeþracen* 'hardy'.

[8] As argued by Flasdieck (1936: 343). Cf. Got *wahsjan*, a verb of class 6 with weak pres.

(vii) Class 7

6.69 The stems of verbs of class 7 are rather diverse in structure and vocalism. What defines the class as a category is that the verbs originally formed the pret. with an initial reduplicative syllable, with or without ablaut alternation of the root vowel. Reduplication amounts to prefixation of the root syllable with a copy of the initial consonant or, in some cases, consonant cluster,[1] followed, at least in PGmc, by */e/. Reduplication was normal in the formation of the perfect in PIE, see §6.32. This method of preterite formation is preserved well in Gothic, where we find, for example, the principal parts *grētan*, *gaígrōt*, *gaígrōtun*, *grētans* 'weep' and *ga-staldan*, *ga-staístald*, *ga-staístaldun*, *ga-staldans* 'possess', where *aí* = [e]. To judge by the relic reduplicated forms found in NWGmc languages, see §6.71, stress fell on the reduplicative syllable in the preterite,[2] and with the increasing loss of unstressed syllables in NWGmc, coupled with the effects of Verner's Law (which were largely levelled away in Gothic), formation of the preterite must have come to seem excessively irregular. As a consequence, reduplication as an active process of stem formation was abandoned in NWGmc, with retention of only a few relics in OE, OHG and ON to show that it ever existed.[3] Instead, in OE the preterite of verbs of class 7 is formed with *ēo* (usually Nbr *ēa*, Kt *īo*) or *ē* in the root.

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[1] In Got the rule is that /st/ and /sk/ are the only clusters that reduplicate entire. Cf. the alliterative treatment of these clusters in OE poetry.

[2] The reduplicative syllable may have been unstressed in Gothic, although this is dubitable, see Jasanoff (2007: 262–3), and cf. Mottausch (1994: 134), with references. But the arguments of Hill (2004: 276–81) for a similar situation in NWGmc are implausible.

[3] On the OHG and ON reduplicated forms, see van Coetsem (1990: 72, 97).

6.70 There is widespread disagreement about how the preterite in class 7 was formed in NWGmc.[1] Perhaps the likeliest explanation is the following, which, whether or not it is correct, provides a remarkably accurate method of predicting the preterite stem from the present stem, thus remedying the problem of unpredictability observed by Hogg (1992c: 157).[2] Reduplicating verbs without an initial consonant originally formed the preterite with the bare addition of /e/ before the root vowel: cf. Got *áukan* 'add', pret. *aíáuk*, probably [eɔːk]. With such verbs as a model, to form the preterite in NWGmc, /e/ was infixed in the present stem immediately before the root vowel. Thus, e.g., pres. **fall-* 'fall' formed its preterite stem as **f-e-all-*, and pres. **lǣt-* 'let' as **l-e-ǣt-*. In OE the resulting vocalism of the pret. stem is *ēo* if the root contained a back vowel or back diphthong in NWGmc but *ē* if it contained a front vowel or front diphthong.[3] Hence, with OE *ēo*: **b-e-aut* > OE *bēot* 'beat'; **f-e-all* > OE *fēoll* 'fell'; **sp-e-ann* > OE *spēonn* 'joined'; **bl-e-ōt* > OE *blēot* 'sacrifice'; **fl-e-ōw* > *flēow* 'flowed'. With OE *ē*: **h-e-ait* > OE *hēt* 'commanded'; **l-e-ǣt* > OE *lēt* 'let'; **kn-e-ǣw* > OE *cnēw* 'knew'.[4] Nearly the only preterites that undeniably are not correctly predicted by this analysis are *fēng* 'took' and *hēng* 'hung';[5] but it is unsurprising that they are exceptions, since these preterites are not formed on the basis of the present stems, which are infs. *fōn* and *hōn*. These infs. derive from **fanxanan*, **xanxanan*, which, however, had already reached the stage */fãːxan/, */xãːxan/ in late PGmc, see Hogg (1992b: §3.13), and so formation of the pret. by infixation would have conflicted with the transparency of the relation between, e.g., pret. *fē̆ng* and noun *fang* 'plunder'. Another anomaly of *fē̆ng* and *hē̆ng* is that the NWGmc cognate preterites had both short and long vowels.[6] That it is the altered structure of the present stem that prevents preterite formation by the normal method in NWGmc is confirmed by poetic *ġēong* 'went', pret. to *gangan*, which is formed normally in NWGmc as **ʒ-e-ang*.

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[1] See, e.g., van Coetsem (1990), Kortlandt (1991).

[2] For details, see Fulk (1987). This explanation is now the commonest for the purely ablauting preterites of NWGmc: see, e.g., Kortlandt (1991), d'Alquen (1997), Mottausch (1998b), Adamczyk (2002). Cf. the criticisms of Jasanoff (2007: 250–2). The chief alternative to this analysis is to suppose that forms like WS *hēt* and *lēt* are the phonological reflexes of reduplicated forms, as was once the most prevalent analysis, and as is still the view of Vennemann (1997). The chief drawback to such analyses is that they require unparalleled deletion of medial consonants, e.g. in **he-ʒlaup-a* > *hlēop* 'leapt'. For criticisms of Vennemann's hypothesis, see d'Alquen (1997), who demonstrates that the claim that such consonant losses truly could be phonologically conditioned is difficult to credit, and in greater detail Jasanoff (2007: 252–60), whose own hypothesis, however, shares Vennemann's aim of preserving the idea that the seemingly unreduplicated forms of NWGmc can be explained convincingly as the reflexes of reduplicated forms from the middle of which consonant clusters have been removed, albeit chiefly on a morphological rather than a phonological basis in Jasanoff's view.

[3] The vowel *ē* in such preterites is said to reflect PGmc *$ē_2$, an innovation in Gmc, as opposed to *$ē_1$ (= PGmc **ǣ*, from PIE **ē*), since the latter should be reflected as *ǣ* in WS. See Krahe and Meid (1969: I, §31) and, with references, Knapp (1974) and Hilmarsson (1991).

[4] Preterites like *cnēw* are more commonly spelt with *ēo* than with *ē*, and Campbell (1977: §745) and Brunner (1965: §396) regard *ēo* as original. But *ē* must be the earlier form, since spellings like *cnēw* are not infrequent in all dialects, though they are perhaps less probative in Nbr, where even original *-ēow* may be spelt <ew>, thus LkGl(Li) 8.26 *ġehrēwun* 'rowed', MtGl(Li) 27.24 *spēua* pret.subj. 'succeeded' (though these appear to be the only secure examples), see Hogg (1992b: §§5.44–5). (Cognates are indecisive, but OSax *oƀar-sēu* 'sowed', inf. *sāian*, cf. OE *sē(o)w* alongside inf. *sāwan*, suggests a non-diphthongal interpretation, *contra* Jasanoff 2007: 279, since *ēu* does not otherwise appear as preterite vocalism in this class in OSax, whilst *ē* does.) The /w/ in such forms is in fact a NSGmc development: to OE *sāwan* 'sow', cf. Got *saían*, OHG *sāan*. (The argument of Matzel 1987: 183–6 that the strong forms of these 'verba pura' are late analogical re-formations of weak verbs is wholly implausible.) Unless breaking of /eː/ before /w/ is assumed, see ibid.: §§5.23 (and cf. §3.45n2), which seems unlikely given how often spellings like OE *cnēw* occur, it may be best to explain forms like *cnēow*, *cnēowon* as having developed much the way nouns like *cnēow*, *cnēowes* did, see §2.32, though with an original long vowel. On Nbr spellings with *ǣ*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.44–5).

[5] It should be assumed that *swēop* 'swept' is analogical, since all other verbs with NWGmc **ai* in the root (*hātan*, *lācan*, etc. §6.76(vi)) have *ē* in the pret. The only other exception is *ġeblond*, †*ġeblondan* to *blandan*, see §6.76n10.

[6] The quantities in OE cannot actually be determined for the early period; by the later period lengthening had set in, see Hogg (1992b: §5.202). On quantities in the cognates, see Flasdieck (1936: 288ff.), d'Alquen (1997: 88–9).

6.71 Certain relics of the older system of reduplicative preterite formation are preserved in OE poetry, in the Anglian dialects, and in WS almost exclusively in those texts that show decided Anglian influence, such as Bede and the Blickling Homilies. The plainest and most frequent examples are these:

(i) *ondreord* to *ondrǣdan* 'dread',[1] found in PsGl(A), Ru1, Li, Ru2;
(ii) *hē̆ht* to *hātan* 'command';[2] found in poetry, the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies, LS 3 (Chad), GD, Bede, some Mercian charters (223, 1432, 1437, 1441), ChronA 688.3, Mart 3, 4, PsGl(A), Ru1, Li, Ru2, DurRitGl, Inscr4 (the Alfred Jewel, which also contains Angl *meċ*);
(iii) *leolc* to *lācan* 'toss', found in poetry and Bo 15.29 *liolcen*;
(iv) *leort* to *lǣtan* 'let', found in El 1104, Bede, Ch 218 (HarmD 12), PsGl(A), Ru1, Li, Ru2, DurRitGl, LorGl 1;
(v) *reord* to *rǣdan* 'advise', found in El 1022, Bede, Ru1.

More commonly are found the non-reduplicated preterites *ondrēd*, *hēt*, etc., which, however, do not appear in Nbr or PsGl(A), whilst Ru1 has usually *lēt*, once *forleortun*. Although reduplicated preterites in Gothic reflect only full-grade forms, it is necessary to assume that the full grade has been generalized in that language, and, originally, full grade alternated with reduced grade in the pret., as in classes 1–5. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain how a form like **re-rǣd-unþ* could have been reduced to *reordon* in OE.[3] Most of these preterites show breaking of the vowel /e/ of the original reduplicative syllable (with Angl smoothing in *hē̆ht*), though *eo* in *leolc* is most likely by analogy to other reduplicated forms, since breaking would be unusual before /lc/, see Hogg (1992b: §5.22).[4] In *leort* there is dissimilation of /l/ to /r/ (i.e., original **leolt*) under the influence of the preceding /l/.[5] Some other possible reduplicated forms are Nbr *speoft*, *speaft*, seemingly to *spātan* 'spit', and pl. *beafton*, *beoftun*, seemingly to *bēatan* 'beat' (and cf. northern ME pret. and pp. *beft* in *Cursor Mundi*). These might have developed from PIE **spept-*[6] and **bhebht-*, which might be expected to give PGmc **speft* and **beft-*, in which event the broken vowels must be regarded as analogical to forms like *reord*.[7] Not generally credited as a reduplicated form is JnGl(Li) 20.22 *blefla* 'blew' pret.3sg. (beside *ġeblēouu*, an alternative gloss in the same place), to *blāwan*, but the form is not implausible as the reflex of PIE **bh(l)ebhlē* with **-w* added in NSGmc (with either full reduplication of **bhl-* or later analogical insertion of /l/ on the basis of inf. *blāwan*): see d'Alquen (1997: 85).[8,9]

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[1] In origin, *ondrǣdan* is a compound of *rǣdan*, but by metanalysis the unstressed prefix *ond-* has been re-identified as *on-*, as indicated by poetry, in which the verb alliterates on *d* rather than *r*: see Bammesberger (1977b), with references. Campbell (1977: §746; see, with a similar view, Jasanoff, 2007: 245) reconstructs reduplicated **on-dredrd*, with subsequent loss of post-nuclear *d* on the basis of dissimilation; but surely, etymologically, *ondreord* is simply the reduplicated pret. of *rǣdan* with the prefix *ond-* added.

[2] According to Campbell (1977: §736 (*j*)), uncertainty about the quantity of the root vowel derives from the assumption of possible analogical influence from unreduplicated pret. *hēt*, on the basis of certain unspecified ME evidence, to which he provides no reference. We note that in Laȝamon, where <æ> does not generally stand for the reflex of OE short /e/, the word is sometimes spelt <hæht>, <hæhten>.

[3] Thus, Bammesberger (1986b: 62–3), supported by Mottausch (1998b: 55), reconstructs **rerde* perf.2pl. < PIE **re-rH̥-té* alongside **rerōþa* 2sg. < **re-róH-*. Note that **H̥* is usually, if not always, lost in Gmc unstressed syllables, as in OE *dohtor*, deriving ultimately from PIE **dhughH̥tē(r)*, cf. Grk *θυγάτηρ*, and on the loss of **H̥*, see Bennett (1978), Fulk (1988). A form like OE *hē̆ht* must then be explained as analogical for **hehit*.

[4] Alternatively, since *leolc* should have been smoothed in Angl, Brunner (1965: §394A1) argues that in **lelāk-* there was back mutation before syncope of *ā*. But back mutation is rather a late development, and so it would be surprising if it were followed by syncope.

[5] This particular dissimilation is of a rather common sort: cf., e.g., change of Lat *-al-* as in *vitālis*, *pedālis* to *-ar-* in *familiāris*, *militāris*, etc.

[6] With dissimilation from **spespt-*, see Szemerényi (1996: §9.4.1.2).

[7] See Schulze (1921), with references.

[8] Alternatively, Ross (1937: 135–6) would reconstruct a form with a trimoric vowel, **bleblōo* in our notation, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.27&n1) and §2.6n2 in the present volume, due to contraction of the stem-final vowel with the PIE aorist ending, and this would also result in OE *blefla*.

[9] Sievers (1901) analysed *blefla* as an error (influenced by the Lat *insuflauit* that it glosses) corrected by the following gloss *ł ġeblēouu*, and in this he has been followed by most, e.g. Flasdieck (1936: 301–2). But *ł* is habitually used in OE glosses not for corrections but for alternative glosses; all it proves is that *blefla* seemed to at least one scribe a form that some might not understand. If *blefla* is not a reduplicated form, it is so unlike anything that could plausibly be a preterite of ‘to blow’ that it is hard to understand how a scribe could have written it. Sievers was especially conservative as regards the analysis of reduplicative forms, e.g. rejecting *speoft*, *speaft*, see Sievers (1884: 279). Bammesberger (1977a: 1–2) perceives the faults of Sievers’s explanation but still finds that the form *blefla*, though it can be explained straightforwardly on a phonological basis, is too anomalous to credit as an inherited form, since if it were so it would surely have been re-formed or removed analogically.

6.72 Possibly, defective *būan* ‘settle’ is to be regarded as an aorist present in class 7, if it is derived from PGmc. **bū-* < PIE **bhuH-*, cf. Grk *φύω* ‘I grow’, Lat *fuī* ‘I have been’.[1,2] But more commonly the verb is reconstructed as PGmc **ƀōwanan*, from the same root, see e.g. Orel (2003: 52–3), or weak **bōwēnan*. The same uncertainty attends the derivation of **þrūan* ‘forge’, on which see §6.60n5. But **aþrūtan* ‘swell’ may belong here,[3] if not to class 2, see §6.57n20.

[1] The only undeniably strong forms in OE are pa.part. *ġebūn*, *bȳn-*, on which see Hogg (1992b: §§5.132) and §6.29 in the present volume. The pret. is weak *būde*, etc., and the lack of umlaut does not prove the strong origin of the word, since the Gothic cognate *bauan* is of the third weak class, see §6.130n2, though some strong forms also occur in Gothic.

[2] Derivation from **bū-* is, e.g., the analysis of Krahe and Meid (1969: I, §64).

[3] Only pa.part. *aþrūten* in Lch II (2×).

6.73 Contracted verbs of class 7 are *fōn* ‘take’ and *hōn* ‘hang’:

fōn	fēng	fēngon	fangen
hōn	hēng	hēngon	hangen

On the derivation of these, see §6.70. It is impossible to be certain about the quantity of the vowel in the pret.: WGmc cognates are attested with both long and short vowels.[1] In Nbr, and for the most part in Ru1, in the present system uncontracted endings are added to the stem *fō-* to form disyllables, e.g. 3sg. *onfōeð*, inf. *fōa*, but imperative *fōh*. In PsGl(A), on the other hand, a spelling such as <foeð> probably represents monosyllabic *-fǣð*, since there is no pl. ***fōað*, inf. ***fōan*, etc., though 1sg. *onfōu* occurs once alongside *onfō* (also <onfoo> once). There occurs in ChristC 1157 *bi-fēn* pa.part., in which the poetic metre shows *-fēn* to be monosyllabic, on which see §6.155n2. This is probably not the same formation as Li *befō̆en*, which appears to be a disyllabic innovation based on the present stem; cf. *ġesē̆en*, §6.62.

[1] See, e.g., Braune (1987: §350A7) for OHG, Holthausen (1921: §448) for OSax. On the quantities, see Flasdieck (1936: 288–90).

6.74 One verb with weak present occurs in class 7, *wēpan*, *wēop*, *wēopon*, *wōpen* 'weep', which is inflected like weak *fēran* in the present, see §6.80.[1] Where WS has *ē*, Anglian generally has <oe>.

[1] A weak pret. occurs once, LkGl(Li) 7.32 *wǣpde*.

6.75 The stems of a number of verbs of class 7 are used also to form weak verbs of the first class, with umlaut in principal part (i), including Nbr *bȳa* 'settle', *genġan* 'go' in poetry and Anglian-influenced LWS, *rǣdan* 'advise',[1] CP 55.427.18 *sǣwan* 'sow', *spǣtan* 'spit' (already EWS). Weak preterites, not necessarily marked by umlaut, are also not uncommon, especially in Nbr, including Li *ġesāudes(d)* 'sowed' *tosċeāded* (*tosċeādadon*, etc.) 'distinguished', *slēpde* (*ġeslēpedon*, with other weak forms in all dialects) 'slept', *ġespeoftad* (to *spātan*, see §6.71) 'spat'; also non-Ælfrician WS *ondrēdde* 'feared'.

[1] Not in Angl, except Li *rēded* pa.part.

6.76 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, verbs of class 7 include *hātan* 'command, promise, be called', *fōn* 'take', *healdan* 'hold', *lǣtan* 'let', *cnāwan* 'know', *feallan* 'fall', *ondrǣdan* 'dread'. The known verbs of this class may be categorized according to their root vocalism in earlier stages of Gmc:

(i) with NSGmc **ǣ* before **w*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.21): *blāwan* 'blow', *cnāwan* 'know', *crāwan* 'crow', *māwan* 'mow', *ġerāwan* 'divide', *sāwan* 'sow',[1] *þrāwan* 'curl', *wāwan* 'blow', all with preterites in *ē*, later *ēo*;[2]
(ii) with NSGmc **ǣ* before other consonants: *ondrǣdan* 'dread', *lǣtan* 'let', *rǣdan* 'advise', *slǣpan* 'sleep',[3] perhaps also **ahwǣtan* 'drive away',[4] all with preterites in *ē*;
(iii) with NWGmc **a* in breaking environments:[5] *fealdan* 'fold', *feallan* 'fall', *healdan* 'hold', **stealdan* 'possess',[6] *wealcan* 'roll', *wealdan* 'rule', *weaxan* 'grow',[7] with preterites in *ēo*;
(iv) with NWGmc **a* before nasal consonant:[8] *bannan* 'summon',[9] *blandan* 'mingle',[10] *gangan* 'go',[11] *spannan* 'join',[12] probably not **blangan* 'anger',[13] all but *blandan* with preterites in *ēo*;
(v) with NWGmc */ãː/, from early PGmc */anx/, see ibid.: §§3.13–15: *fōn* 'take', *hōn* 'hang', see §6.70;[14]
(vi) with NWGmc **ai*: *hātan* 'command', *lācan* 'toss', *sċādan* 'distinguish',[15] *spātan* 'spit',[16] *swāpan* 'sweep', generally with preterites in *ē*, though

swāpan has pret. *swēop*, presumably on an analogical basis (see §6.70n5);

(vii) with NWGmc **au*: *bēatan* 'beat', *hēawan* 'hew', *hlēapan* 'leap', with preterites in *ēo*. A few other verbs with NWGmc. **au* are attested only fragmentarily: pa.parts. *ēacen* 'increased', *ēaden* 'granted', and prets. *dēog* '(was) concealed',[17] *hēof* 'lamented';[18]

(viii) with NWGmc **ō*: *blōtan* 'sacrifice', *blōwan* 'bloom', *cnōdan* 'assign',[19] *flōcan* 'clap',[20] *flōwan* 'flow', *hlōwan* 'low', *hrōpan* 'yell', *hwōpan* 'threaten', **hwōsan* 'cough',[21] *rōwan* 'row',[22] *snōwan* 'hasten',[19] *spōwan* 'succeed', *swōgan* 'roar',[20,23] *wēpan* 'weep' (weak pres., §6.74), *wrōtan* 'uproot';[20] possibly also the prets. GuthB 847 *ahnēop* 'plucked off', Ex 475 *ġenēop* 'overcame', if these are not to a stem of class 2, see §6.50n6;

(ix) with NWGmc **ū*, see §6.72.

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[1] In CP also inf. *sǣwan* and pres.subj. *sǣwe*, perhaps influenced by the pres.ind.2&3sg.

[2] See §6.70n4.

[3] Also *slāpan* by restoration of *ā*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.35ff.). Non-WS forms have *ē* as the root vowel, see ibid.: §3.24&n1. A weak pret. *slēpte* occurs in Ru1 and in non-Ælfrician WS.

[4] Only GenB 406 *ahwēt* pret.sg., see Smithers (1952: 80–5).

[5] Such verbs lack breaking in Angl, due either to restoration of *a* or to smoothing.

[6] Pret. only, emended Rim 22 *stēold* 1sg. (ms. *steald*).

[7] On Nbr and poetic *awōx*, *wōxon*, see §6.68&n8.

[8] Also with <o> rather than <a> in principal parts (i) and (iv) outside LWS and lKt, see Hogg (1992b: §5.3ff.).

[9] Jasanoff (2007: 280) cites a pret. *ġeban* that we are unable to authenticate.

[10] Forms like ChristC 1437 *ġeblendon* pret.pl. must be weak if the analysis of preterite formation offered in §6.70 is correct, as strong **blēond-* should thereby be expected. But there do occur two strong preterites, ClGl 3.1848 *ġeblond* and And 33 †*ġeblondan* (the latter emended to *ġeblendan* in the text employed by the *DOEC*). The reference of Flasdieck (1936: 328) to a pret. *ġeblond* in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. iii appears to be in error. If pret. *gang* is analogical to verbs of class 3 (see n11), *ġeblond(an)* may have been formed the same way.

[11] A pret. *gang* (3×) appears alongside usual *ġēong*, *ġīong* in Beo, perhaps by analogy to preterites of class 3 like *sang*, *sprang*, although Jasanoff (2007: 280n75) reconstructs a parallel verb **ġingan* of class 3 that he derives from PIE **ĝhengh-*. Bavarian *gang* is a recent analogical creation, according to Flasdieck (1936: 328). The palatal initial of the pret. is sometimes extended to the pres., e.g. Nbr *ġeonga* inf., Ru1 *iongaþ* pres.pl., Beo 2743 *ġeong* imper. In GenB, *ġieng* (emended from <gien>) and *ġenge* subj.sg. are OSax forms. The pa.part *ġegongen* is replaced by *ġiēad* (cf. WS pret. *ēode* to *gān* 'go'), Li, Ru2.

[12] WS only, and almost exclusively LWS. EWS *spann-* (as opposed to *span-*) occurs only CP 44.329.22. On EWS *spanan* (class 6), see §6.68. GenB 445 *spenn* pret. is an OSax form.

[13] Only MtGl(Li) 26.8 *abloncgne* pa.part. The form is probably an error for *abolgne*: see Bammesberger (1978).

[14] These verbs also have pa.part. <foen>, <hoen> in Nbr, poetic *-fēn* (e.g. ChristC 1157), see §6.73.

[15] Beside expected pret. *tosċēd* (3×), CP has *a-*, *to-sċeād* (3×), perhaps in part as the result of scribal confusion with the noun *tōsċeād* 'discernment'. Anglian weak forms are common, e.g. Li *tosċeādade*, *tosċeāded*.

[16] Aside from the possible reduplicated pret., §6.71, only MtGl(Li) 27.30 *spātende* pres.part.

[17] Beo 850; see Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2009: 165) for references.

[18] GenB 770 *hōf* is to OSax *hiofan*, of class 2. There is also a weak verb WS *hēofan*, pret. *hēofde*, PsGl(A) 34.14, Beo 3142 *hīofende* pres.part.; on the vocalism, see Hogg (1992b: §5.84).

[19] Also class 2, see §6.50&nn9–10. Despite the argument of Bammesberger (1976a), metrical considerations render it very unlikely that the root vowel could be short.

[20] Pret. unattested.

[21] Pres.ind.3sg. *hwēst*, pl. *hwōsað* (hence not inf. ***hwēsan*, see *OED*: **wheeze**), pret.3sg. *hwēos*.

[22] Beo *rēon* pret.pl. (2×) is explained by Hogg (1992b: §§4.7, 5.131ff.).

[23] There is also a pa.part. <geswogen> 'overpowered' that may be to a verb of this class, if it has *ō*.

III Weak verbs

6.77 Weak verbs are mostly derived verbs, i.e. verbs formed by the addition of suffixes to various parts of speech before the inflexional ending. Thus, weak verbs add a suffix in the form of a dental consonant to mark the preterite, instead of marking the preterite by means of ablaut or reduplication, the way strong verbs do. In PGmc there were four classes of weak verbs, differentiated by the suffixes they bore. In OE three weak classes remain recognizable, of which the third is only fragmentarily preserved.[1]

[1] For bibliographical references on the origin and development of the weak verbs, see Fullerton (1977), Stark (1982), West (2001).

1 Weak class I

6.78 Class I of weak verbs is by far the largest of all OE verb classes. In Germanic it was quite productive, though by the historical period of OE it had become almost entirely a closed class, since the phonological processes involved in the production of class I forms had grown opaque, see Kastovsky (1996b: 281). The origins of the class are in PIE, where in the present tense the suffix **-y-* + theme vowel + inflexion could be added to both verb and noun stems, which might or might not already bear a theme vowel or other suffix, to form chiefly iterative-intensive or causative verbs, e.g. Lat *specit* 'observes' < **spek-y-e-ti* and *monet* 'warns' < **mon-ey-e-ti*.[1]

This method of stem formation continued to be very productive in Gmc, with **-j-* added to stems drawn from many different parts of speech to form causative verbs, e.g. OE *drenċan* 'make to drink', cf. noun *drinċ* 'drink'; *blǣċan* 'bleach', cf. adj. *blāc* 'pale'; *cwellan* 'kill', cf. verb *cwelan* 'die'; *ȳtan* 'drive out', cf. adv. *ūt(e)* 'out'. In such forms, roots containing the PIE normal ablaut grade will usually have PIE **o* (PGmc **a*) in the root (unlike, for example, weak presents of strong verbs, §6.34), always of course subject to umlaut before **-j-*, e.g. *settan* 'set' < **sat-j-an* < PIE **sod-y-*, cf. strong *sittan* 'sit' < PIE **sed-y-*.[2] But the class was so productive in Gmc that the suffix could be added to a stem containing another ablaut grade, e.g. reduced grade in *cyssan* 'kiss' < PGmc **kuss-j-an*.

[1] The PIE suffix **-y-* thus alternated with **-ey-*. On the elimination of the distinction in Gmc, see Kortlandt (1986a).

[2] On the ablaut relation see, e.g., Eichner (1992).

6.79 In PIE, verbs with the suffix **-y-* formed only present stems, to which no stems in other tenses were in use.[1] The individual IE languages subsequently developed various methods of forming preterites to these verbs. In Gmc the present stem including **-j-* served also for the preterite (where */j/ would be realized as *[i] if it occurred between consonants, otherwise as *[j]), but in the preterite a dental suffix was added to it, usually taking the form **-ð-*, but see below. The origin of this dental suffix is disputed,[2] but today the most widely accepted explanation is that **-ð-* + inflexion developed from originally aorist forms of the Gmc verb reflected in PDE as *do*. Thus, for example, OE *hǣlde* 'healed' 3sg. (inf. *hǣlan*) is to be derived from **hail-i-ðǣþ*, essentially 'hale-did'.[3] It seems a natural enough explanation that preterites to such verbs should have been formed by an obvious periphrasis,[4] and morphological parallels are not wanting, e.g. the Lat imperfect in *-bā-*, which morpheme reflects an old *ā*-preterite to the verb 'be'.[5] And although the phonological and morphological developments required to derive the attested weak preterite endings from aorist forms of 'do' are not free of problems, this derivation seems the most plausible offered, since the preterite inflexions of weak verbs are unlike those of strong verbs and cannot be related directly to normal PIE perfect or aorist inflexions.[6] On the other hand, not all dental preterite forms can be explained on this basis. In particular, some of the very archaic preterite-present verbs (§§6.131ff.) and weak verbs with unumlauted preterites (§6.100&n3) demand reconstructions with PIE **t* in the preterite, perhaps to be derived from aorist forms of the second person.[7] The origin of the weak preterite must therefore be a matter of polygenesis. As for the past participle, it must derive in the main from the PIE suffix **-t-* reflected in participles like Lat *status* 'stood', Grk *κλυτός* 'heard'. Because such participles had accent on the inflexion, the

Gmc **þ* that developed from PIE **t* would have been voiced to **ð* under Verner's Law, giving WGmc *d*, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.4, 17).

[1] The present here includes the imperfect, which was based on the present stem. Thus, for example, imperfects could be formed to these verbs, but not perfects or aorists, as will seem natural enough when it is understood that many such verbs were formed from noun stems.

[2] See Prokosch (1939: §66). For references, see Tops (1974) and Rasmussen (1996), the latter with an interesting synthesis of the two chief explanations. For a concise overview of the competing theories, see Pohl (1989: 196–9). Kortlandt (1989) outlines the expected development of a Gmc root-aorist to the verb 'do' in non-initial position.

[3] The process is generally assumed to have originated in what were to become weak verbs of class II. Thus, for example, it may be supposed that there arose a periphrasis like **warō ðǣþ* 'did with vigilance' comprising the instrumental of a fem. noun plus root-aorist of 'do', producing, ultimately, OE *warode* 'was vigilant', and after morphologization the now suffixal *-*ðǣþ* was extended to what were to become the other weak classes. See Lühr (1984: 43–4), and, on the differences amongst East, North and West Gmc in regard to the formation of the dental preterite, Fullerton (1989).

[4] Just as, for example, the PDE perfect is formed by a periphrasis of 'have' + pa.part.

[5] See Szemerényi (1996: §9.4.4.1&n18).

[6] For discussion, see Bammesberger (1986b: 85–6).

[7] This is the view of Bammesberger (1986b: 69–82). As he points out, derivation from the more obvious possible source, the PIE *t*-suffix found in past participles, faces the difficulty that such participles had suffixal accent, and thus the Gmc /θ/ that developed from this *t*-suffix should have been voiced under Verner's Law, whereas several preterite-present verbs and weak verbs with unumlauted preterite, see §§6.100, 6.131ff., demand reconstruction with a PGmc voiceless consonant. Yet Prokosch (1939: §65d note 1) offers a possible explanation of how the accent could have shifted to the root in participial forms. But Prokosch (1939: §65a) also argues that the newly formed weak preterites of preterite-present verbs have generalized the pres. suffix *-*t*- reflected in Grk *πέκτω* alongside *πέκω* (see §6.51n1 above), which hardly seems relevant.

(a) Inflexions

6.80 The inflexions of weak verbs of class I differ according to the structure of the stem, depending on whether in WGmc it was light or heavy, and further, whether in light stems the final consonant was /r/ or another sound. The three types may be exemplified for WS by *fremman* 'perform', *nerian* 'save' and *fēran* 'depart':

		Present Indicative	
Sg. 1	fremme	nerie	fēre
2	frem(e)st	nerest	fērst
3	frem(e)ð	nereð	fērð
Pl. 3	fremmað	neriað	fērað
		Present Subjunctive	
Sg. 3	fremme	nerie	fēre
Pl. 3	fremmen	nerien	fēren

		Imperative	
Sg. 2	freme	nere	fēr
Pl. 3	fremmað	neriað	fērað
		Preterite Indicative	
Sg. 1	fremede	nerede	fērde
2	fremedon	neredon	fērdon
3	fremede	nerede	fērde
Pl. 3	fremedon	neredon	fērdon
		Preterite Subjunctive	
Sg. 3	fremede	nerede	fērde
Pl. 3	fremeden	nereden	fērden
Infinitive	fremman	nerian	fēran
Infl.inf.	to fremmenne[1]	to ġenerienne[1]	to fērenne[1]
Pres.part.	fremmende	neriende	fērende
Pa.part.	fremed	nered	fēred

It will be seen that wherever *fremman* has a geminate consonant, *i* appears in the paradigm of *nerian*; and in the preterite, whilst *fremman* and *nerian* have *-ed-*, *fēran* has *-d-*. The reasons for these discrepancies are explained in §6.82. We should expect on an etymological basis that *i* in verbs like *nerian* would be non-syllabic, since it represents Gmc */j/, in contradistinction to *i* in verbs of weak class II, see §§6.105–6. The spelling evidence is inconclusive, since *i* in both classes I and II may be spelt <g>, e.g. *nerġan* alongside class II *lufġendra* 'loving', *tilġan* 'cultivate'.[2] Likewise, spellings like *ġeneriġe* are not uncommon in WS, see Hogg (1992b: §6.44). Moreover, in LWS there occur preterites like ÆCHom *nerode*, formed according to the second weak class, see §6.88. But non-syllabic spellings in class II like *tilġan* are notably less frequent than spellings like *nerġan* in class I, and the evidence of poetic metre, though sparse, is consistent, since verbs with *i* like *nerian* may follow a resolved lift, e.g. El 108, WaldB 17, Mald 179, whilst those of class II containing *i* may not, indicating /j/ in class I and /i/ in class II.[3] In PsGl(A) there is a regular orthographic difference between verbs like *nerġan*, always spelt with <g>, and those of the second weak class like *lufian*, always spelt with <i>. See also §§6.105–6.

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[1] In the inflected infinitive, Ælfric generally has *-enne*, whilst EWS prefers *-anne*. See also §6.6n1.

[2] Most such forms, however, like the latter, are to verbs that may originally have belonged to class III, in which postconsonantal /j/ may be etymological, see §§6.124, 6.130.

[3] On the metrical rule, which originates with Sievers, see, e.g., Fulk (1992: §249). See also Sievers (1893a: §9.2).

6.81 As with the strong verbs, plural verb endings are generally reduced to *-e* before pronouns of the first and second persons in WS, less regularly in Angl, see §6.7. As mentioned in §6.12, heavy stems ending in a post-consonantal sonorant usually lack orthographic syncope, e.g. *bȳcnest* 'betoken', *timbreð* 'constructs', see further §6.96.[1] Also as with the strong verbs, see §6.12, syncope is regular in the pres.ind.2&3sg. in LWS after heavy stems, irregular after light stems, hence *fremest*, *fremeð* alongside *fremst*, *fremð*, see further §6.82, except that syncope fails regularly after light stems ending in /r/. Weak present and past participles are declined the same way as the corresponding strong participles, see §§4.28–9.

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[1] In LWS there occur occasional forms like *nemst*, *nemð* beside usual *nemnest*, *nemneð*, to *nemnan* 'name' only.

6.82 As with the strong verbs, see §6.4, already in PGmc the original inflexions were in the process of becoming fused with stem formatives. The forms tabulated in §6.80 may be derived from early PGmc paradigms of the following type, with the exceptions noted below in §6.84:

		Present Indicative	
Sg. 1	*framjō	*nazjō	*fōrijō
2	*framjis	*nazjis	*fōrijis
3	*framjiþ	*nazjiþ	*fōrijiþ
Pl. 3	*framjanþ	*nazjanþ	*fōrijanþ
		Present Subjunctive	
Sg. 3	*framjai(þ)	*nazjai(þ)	*fōrijai(þ)
Pl. 3	*framjain	*nazjain	*fōrijain
		Imperative	
Sg. 2	*frami	*nazi	*fōrī
Pl. 3	*framjanþ	*nazjanþ	*fōrijanþ
		Preterite Indicative	
Sg. 1	*framiðōn	*naziðōn	*fōriðōn
2	*framiðǣs	*naziðǣs	*fōriðǣs
3	*framiðǣ(þ)	*naziðǣ(þ)	*fōriðǣ(þ)
Pl. 3	*framiðǣðun	*naziðǣðun	*fōriðǣðun
		Preterite Subjunctive	
Sg. 3	*framiðǣðī(þ)	*naziðǣðī(þ)	*fōriðǣðī(þ)
Pl. 3	*framiðǣðīn	*naziðǣðīn	*fōriðǣðīn
Infinitive	*framjanan	*nazjanan	*fōrijanan
Infl.inf.	*tō framjanjai	*tō nazjanjai	*tō fōrijanjai
Pres.part.	*framjanðijaz	*nazjanðijaz	*fōrjanðijaz
Pa.part.	*framiðaz	*naziðaz	*fōriðaz

Note that in the paradigm of the etymon of _fēran_, Gmc */j/ after a heavy syllable is realized as *[ij] under Sievers's Law, see Hogg (1992b: §4.6). In the preterite, where it appears between the root-final consonant and */ð/ of the suffix, it is realized as [i], which is the vowel found in some early texts, e.g. CædN 5 _astelidæ_ 'established', BDSN 5 _dōēmid_ 'judged', though later it is lowered and spelt <e>, see ibid.: §6.50. Alongside _astelidæ_, other early spellings with <æ> in the pret.sg. include RuneRuthwellA 1 _ġeredæ_ 'prepared', RuneAuzon 3 _afœ̄ddæ_ 'fed'. In verbs with original light stems (_fremman_, _nerian_: see §6.80) there is no syncope of this [i] in the preterite or in inflected forms of the pa.part., whilst after original heavy stems (_fēran_) WGmc *_i_ is syncopated throughout the preterite and in the pa.part. when it bears an inflexion beginning with a vowel, in accordance with the prescriptions of ibid.: §§6.18–19. That is, pa.parts. have syncope in the same forms as disyllabic adjectives, see §§4.44ff. Thus, for example, the pa.part. of _fremman_ is _fremed_ nom.sg., _fremedum_ dat.pl., whilst that of _forðfēran_ 'die' is _-fēred_ nom.sg., _-fēredne_ acc.sg.masc., _-fērdum_ dat.pl. The distinction, however, is often disrupted by analogy.[1] In those forms in which */j/ appeared before */i/ in WGmc, it was lost, see ibid.: §4.7, hence pres. ind.2sg. *_framjis_, *_nazjis_, *_fōrijis_ > WGmc *_framis_, _nazis_, _fōriis_; 3sg. *_framjiþ_, *_nazjiþ_, *_fōrijiþ_ > WGmc *_framiþ_, *_naziþ_, *_fōriiþ_. In the imper.sg., PIE *_-e_ was early lost in finality, leading to vocalization of /j/, hence *_framje_, *_nazje_, *_fōrije_ > WGmc *_frami_, *_nazi_, *_fōrī_. In all other forms of the present, in all moods, Gmc */j/ remained, and in light syllables in WGmc it caused gemination of a stem-final consonant other than /r/ (from both PGmc */r/ and */z/, the latter by rhotacism, see ibid.: §§4.15–16) and was subsequently lost after the heavy syllable thus created, see ibid.: §§4.11–14. Since it did not cause gemination of /r/ under the same circumstances and thus did not follow a heavy syllable, it was not lost in most pres. forms of _nerian_ but is preserved as <i>.

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[1] In WS and most Angl dialects there are frequent analogical forms in which syncope has been reversed, e.g., in Ælfric, _ġehȳrede_ 'heard', _ġedrēfede_ 'disturbed'. Conversely, syncope is less frequently found after light stems, e.g. _cnyste_ 'struck', _ġetrymde_ 'strengthened', PPs 108.25 _weġdan_ 'agitated'; see also §§6.85, 6.96–7. In LWS there may even be syncope in uninflected participles with stems ending in <p> or <nc>, e.g. ÆLS (Agnes) 45 _beclypt_ 'embraced', ÆCHom I, 18 221.135 _ġeswenct_ 'oppressed'. (On WS syncope in stems ending in /t/ or /d/, see §6.93.) PsGl(A), however, is particularly conservative in retaining the original distribution of syncopated forms.

6.83 The OE pret. suffix _-d-_ was devoiced to [t] when it came into contact with a root-final voiceless consonant, for example _wyrpte_ 'recovered', _pyfte_ 'puffed', _mētte_ 'met', _cyste_ 'kissed', _līxte_ 'illuminated', _wȳsċte_ 'wished', _þrycte_ 'crushed'. Other verbs of this sort include _clyppan_ 'embrace', _acwenċ(e)an_ 'quench', LWS _ċȳpan_ 'buy, sell', _cyspan_ 'fetter', _drenċ(e)an_ 'ply with drink’, *drȳpan* ‘moisten’, *adwǣsċ(e)an* ‘extinguish’, *bedyppan* ‘immerse’, LWS *hȳpan* ‘amass’, *hyspan* ‘revile’, *rempan* ‘hasten’, LWS *berȳpan* ‘rob’, *sċenċ(e)an* ‘pour’, LWS *sċirpan* ‘sharpen, equip’,[1] *sċrenċ(e)an* ‘ensnare’, *senċ(e)an* ‘sink’, *tostenċ(e)an* ‘scatter’, LWS *astȳpan* ‘deprive’, *swenċ(e)an* ‘vex’, *ofþrysċ(e)an* ‘repress’, *wlenċ(e)an* ‘make proud’, LWS *wyrpan* ‘recover from an illness’, LWS *ȳċ(e)an* ‘increase’, and others, including the verbs with stems in /t/ listed in §6.93. However, spellings with <d> after a voiceless consonant do occur occasionally, especially in Nbr, e.g. *wǣpde* ‘wept’, *ġenēolēcde* ‘approached’. The devoicing rule does not apply to /d/ after fricatives except geminates, and geminates are found in the preterite only when the doubling stems from PGmc rather than from WGmc gemination, see §6.92. Non-geminate fricatives in the preterite were voiced before the time of syncope, see Hogg (1992b: §7.58), so that they caused no devoicing of /d/ once syncope brought the two consonants into contact: cf. *rǣsde* ‘rushed’ < **raisiðǣ*, *fȳsde* ‘impelled’, etc. On the reverse effect of /d/ on stem-final consonants, see §6.95.

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[1] The two senses are etymologically distinct, but there is no difference in inflexion.

6.84 The forms in §6.80 directly reflect those in §6.82, with the same exceptions as are noted for strong verbs in §6.9. The development of pres.ind.2sg. **-is* to OE *-(e)st* is paralleled by the development of pret.ind.2sg. **-ð-ǣs* to OE *-d-est*, cf. §6.14. The termination **-ðǣðun* in the pret.ind.3pl., reflected in Got *-dēdun*, probably would not develop under normal conditions to NWGmc **-ðun*, but the repetition of consonants most likely prompted refashioning under the influence of the strong preterite: see §6.93n3. The same change is to be assumed for the preterite subjunctive.

6.85 The dialect distribution of syncopated forms of the pres.ind.2&3sg., and the variant inflexions encountered, are like those for strong verbs, see §§6.12, 6.15–19. Thus, generally, there is regular syncope after heavy stems in Ælfrician WS and lKt, usual non-syncope in Angl, and a mixture of forms in EWS and in anonymous LWS texts. In weak verbs, syncope after light stems ending in sonorants is exceptionally infrequent, e.g. *ġefremð* ‘performs’, *ġetrymð* ‘strengthens’; cf. §6.12. On syncope after dental stems, see §§6.93–5. In syncopated forms, the same consonant assimilations and dissimilations are encountered as in strong verbs, e.g. **kūþ-is(t)* > *cȳst* ‘make known’, **sand-iþ* > *sent* ‘sends’, see §6.13. The Nbr mixture of endings *-es*, *-eð*, *-as*, etc., in strong verbs, see §§6.19–20, is general in weak verbs of class I, as well.

6.86 The inflexion *-e* of the imper.sg. of originally light stems is not infrequently extended to heavy stems in LWS, Ru1 and Nbr, e.g. Gen 42.31

þenċe, Ru1 *ċēġe*, *fylġe*, Li *sende*, *ġehēre* alongside *send*, *ġehēr*. Conversely, *-e* may be lost from originally light stems, e.g. ByrM 3.1.183 *tel(l)*, Ru1, Nbr *sel*; or, if *-e* is retained, the geminate may be levelled into the imper.sg., e.g. Ru1 *selle*.

6.87 In Nbr, less frequently in Ru2 than in Li and DurRitGl, the past participle may take the strong suffix *-en*, usually in inflected forms, e.g. Li *ymbgyrdeno* 'girded', *ġesendeno*, *ġeseteno*, *ġewælteno* 'bended', alongside uninflected *ymbgyrded*, *ġesended*, *ġeset(t)ed*.

6.88 In WS, verbs with gemination tend to acquire the stem and inflexions of weak verbs of class II. Thus, already in EWS, to the verbs **lemman* 'disable', *ġetrymman* 'strengthen', *aðennan* 'stretch out' there occur CP *lemiað*, *ġetrymian*, Or *aðenian*. The process is accelerated in LWS, where preterites of the class II type also appear, e.g. ÆCHom *fremode*, ÆLS *ġetrymode*, *ġewenode* 'accustomed'. However, the seeming chronology of these developments, with change appearing in the present stem before the preterite, may be deceptive.[1] As the examples illustrate, these WS changes are for the most part restricted to stems in final sonorant, for reasons that are not plain.[2] In Ru1 and in Nbr there is also a strong tendency for verbs of class I, with stems either heavy or light, to acquire preterite inflexions belonging to class II, e.g. Li *ġetrymade*, Ru2 *æfterġiwendad* 'turned back', DurRitGl *underlihtad* 'alleviated'. On similar preterites to verbs like *nerian* with original /j/, see §6.80.

[1] We might assume that already in EWS the distinction between *-ode* and *-ede* was a matter of orthographic conservatism rather than phonetic contrast, so that in speech a form like *trymede* was indistinguishable from *trymode*. It is otherwise difficult to explain why the change of verb class should have been expressed first in the present stem, though it was in the preterite that the two types were least distinct. See Kastovsky (1998: 142–3).

[2] It might at first be supposed that the change was predicated on the form taken by the preterite, those verbs with the endings *-ede*, *-edon* in the pret. then forming a new present of the class II type. Verbs with a geminate dental stop, e.g. *settan*, *hreddan*, thus would not have qualified, cf. prets. *sette*, *hredde*, and verbs with geminate velar consonant were mostly like *reċċan*, *byċġan*, prets. *reahte*, *bohte*, see §6.100, and so they would have been unaffected. But this leaves a number of verbs unaccounted for, such as *aswebban*, *besweþþan*, *cnyssan*, *weċġan*, *þiċġan*. The arguments of Stark (1982: ch. 4) shed little light on this problem.

(b) Stems

6.89 As will be apparent from the paradigms in §6.80, the stem used for the preterite of weak verbs of class I (as well as of classes II, III, it should be added) is identical in the sg. and pl. Thus, in presenting the principal parts of weak verbs it is necessary to cite just three forms: (i) infinitive, containing the stem on which is based the present of all moods and all non-finite forms but the pa.part.; (ii) preterite 3 singular, containing the stem used for all preterite forms; (iii) past participle.

6.90 As pointed out in §6.82, the suffix **-j-* caused gemination of consonants other than /r/ after a light syllable wherever it was not lost in WGmc, followed by umlaut. Voiced fricatives become stops in gemination, e.g. in *swebban* 'put to sleep' < Gmc **swaƀjan* and *weċġan* 'agitate' < **waʒjan*, see Hogg (1992b: §4.13). Cf. the corresponding fricatives in pa.parts. *swefed*, *weġed* < **swaƀiðaz*, **waʒiðaz*. Except in PsGl(A) and Kt, geminates are sometimes levelled into forms in which non-geminates are to be expected, e.g. GD *ġecnyssed* 'struck', ÆCHom *ġefremmed*, Ru1 *selleþ* 'gives', Li *ġetrymmede*. Levelling in the opposite direction is rare, but cf. Nbr *selo*, *silo* 'I give'. The synchronic status of the verb stem is of some interest.[1] When the abstract noun-forming suffix *-nes(s)* (see §2.47) is added to the stem, in PsGl(A) and Mercian-influenced WS texts it is usually the stem of principal part (iii) that is used, which is disyllabic in originally light stems, e.g. *trymenis* 'strengthening', *ġesetenisse* 'construction', cf. pa.parts. *trymed*, *seted*; also *herenis* 'praise', the usual form in all dialects. Other dialects employ a monosyllabic form of the stem, e.g. *trymnis*, *ġesetnis*. The treatment of verbs with stem-final velar consonant, however, may be different: see §6.100.

[1] For discussion, see Suzuki (1990).

6.91 The addition of the pres. inflexions *-st*, *-þ* and the pret. suffix *-d-* sometimes produced consonant clusters that could be reduced by phonological loss. Examples are *nemst*, *nemð*, frequent *nemde*, all forms of *nemnan* 'name', see §6.81n1, *cemde* to *cemban* 'comb', CP 36.249.23 *awierdena* gen.pl. 'accursed' < *awiergdena*, Beo 1401 *gende* 'went' < *gengde*. See Hogg (1992b: §§7.84, 86). LWS *wīste* 'wished' for *wīsċte* is not cluster reduction but assimilation to place of articulation; similar is PsGl(A) *ġehnistun* 'softened', to *ġehnisċan*. Geminate consonants in clusters are regularly simplified, e.g. *ċyrde* 'turned' < **cyrr-de* and *sende* 'sent' < *send-de*, though analogical spellings are sometimes found, e.g. *ġefyllde* 'filled', LS 1.1 269 *sendde*. Some more regular alternations in the stems of weak verbs of class I may be categorized as in the following sections.

(i) Stems with original geminate

6.92 The geminates in some weak stems are due not to WGmc gemination but to early Gmc consonant assimilation, e.g. PIE **pl̥H-n-y-* > PGmc **fullij-*, see Hirt (1931: §75). In such instances the stem was already heavy before WGmc consonant gemination, and as a consequence the stem is inflected like *fēran* rather than *fremman*, e.g. inf. *fyllan* 'fill', pres.ind.1sg.

fylle, 3sg. *fyl(l)ð*, pret. *fyl(l)de* (not ***fylede*), pa.part. *fylled* (not ***fyled*). Like *fyllan* are *cennan* ‘produce’, LWS *ċyrran* ‘turn’, *cyssan* ‘kiss’, LWS *fyllan* ‘fell’, LWS *afyrran* ‘remove’, LWS *myrran* ‘mar’, *pyffan* ‘puff’, *spillan* ‘destroy’, *stillan* ‘appease’, *þryċċan* ‘crush’, *wemman* ‘besmirch’, *yppan* ‘reveal’, and Nbr *cnylla* ‘toll’, *forestemma* ‘prevent’ and their derivatives.

(ii) Stems in dental consonant

6.93 Syncope exceeds the normal limits on its domain of application in certain stems ending in dental consonants. In Angl, past participles whose stem ends in /t/ or /d/ show the expected alternations, e.g. nom.sg. *ġeseted* ‘set’, *ġesended* ‘sent’, and with syncope before vocalic inflexions, pl. *ġesette*, *ġesende*. Such forms are also common in non-Ælfrician LWS, and occasionally in EWS,[1] perhaps under Merc influence, see Hogg (1992b: §1.10). But otherwise in Early and Ælfrician WS, and to an extent in lKt,[2] syncope applies even to uninflected forms, with both light and heavy stems, thus nom.sg. *ġeset(t)*, *ġesend*. It is also found in closed medial syllables, e.g. *ġesendne* acc.sg.masc. ‘sent’, cf. GD 2 (C) 31.164.25 *ġelǣdedne* ‘led’. Moreover, in all dialects syncope applies in the preterite of stems ending in /t/ or /d/ even when the stem is light, e.g. *sette* ‘set’ (not ***setede*), EpGl 611 *treddun* ‘trampled’.[3] Other verbs affected this way include *bǣdan* ‘compel’, *bǣtan* ‘hunt’, *bendan* ‘bend’, *bētan* ‘atone’, *blendan* ‘blind’, *brǣdan* ‘extend; roast’,[4] *onbryrdan* ‘incite’, *byldan* ‘build’, LWS *byldan* ‘embolden’, *ċīdan* ‘quarrel’, *cnyttan* ‘bind’, *acræftan* ‘devise’, *ġedæftan* ‘arrange’, LWS *dȳdan* ‘kill’, *ēaðmēdan* ‘humble’, *efstan* ‘hasten’, *ēhtan* ‘pursue’, *ġeendebyrdan* ‘arrange’, *fæstan* ‘fasten, fast’,[5] *fǣtan* ‘decorate’, *fēdan* ‘feed’, *ġefrēdan* ‘feel’, *fylstan* ‘aid’, *afyrhtan* ‘frighten’, *grētan* ‘greet’, *gyldan* ‘gild’, *agyltan* ‘offend’, *gyrdan* ‘gird’, *hæftan* ‘capture’, *hǣtan* ‘heat’, *hlæstan* ‘lade’, *hlȳdan* ‘make a clamour’, *hlystan* ‘listen’, *hreddan* ‘rescue’, *hwettan* ‘incite’, *hwītan* ‘whiten’, *hȳdan* ‘hide’, *hyhtan* ‘hope’, LWS *onhyldan* ‘bend’, *behyldan* ‘flay’, LWS *hyrdan* ‘harden’, *hyrstan* ‘equip’, LWS *hyrstan* ‘fry’, LWS *hyrtan* ‘hearten’, *lǣstan* ‘fulfil’, *lendan* ‘arrive’, *lettan* ‘prevent’, LWS *līhtan* ‘illuminate’, *lystan* ‘desire’, *mæstan* ‘fatten’, *mētan* ‘meet’, *myntan* ‘think’, *nǣtan* ‘annoy’, *nistan* ‘nest’, LWS *nȳdan* ‘compel’, *pyndan* ‘impound’, *rǣdan* ‘advise, read’,[6] *restan* ‘rest’, *rētan* ‘delight’, *rihtan* ‘correct’, *sċendan* ‘confound’, LWS *sċyldan* ‘shield’, *sċyndan* ‘hasten’, *sċyrtan* ‘shorten’, *spǣtan* ‘spit’, *spildan* ‘ruin’, *sprǣdan* ‘spread’, *spryttan* ‘sprout’, *swǣtan* ‘sweat’, LWS *syltan* ‘salt’, *ontendan* ‘kindle’, *treddan* ‘investigate’, *tyhtan* ‘incite’, WS *ġeþēodan*, *ġeþȳdan* ‘join’, *forþrǣstan* ‘crush’, *þyrstan* ‘thirst’, *wǣdan* ‘clothe’, *wǣtan* ‘moisten’, *wēdan* ‘rage’, *wendan* ‘turn’, *awēstan* ‘lay waste’, LWS *wyldan* ‘control’, LWS *wyltan* ‘roll’, LWS *awyrdan* ‘injure’, LWS *yldan* ‘delay’, and verbs in *-ettan*, e.g. *bliċċettan* ‘glitter’, *līċettan* ‘pretend’, *roccettan* ‘eructate’, *sārettan* ‘grieve’, *sporettan* ‘kick’ and (with different origin, from compounds) *andettan* ‘confess’, *ōnettan* ‘hasten’, *ōrettan* ‘fight’, see ibid.: §7.79n1. It is also notable that, in WS, whilst syncope is infrequent in the present tense after a light syllable ending in a sonorant, see §6.85, syncope is the rule in WS for dental stems, e.g. 3sg. *set(t)* ‘sets’, *ahret* ‘rescues’. In Nbr there is frequent degemination of /dd/, /tt/, even after short vowels, e.g. Li *set(t)on*, *ġefōēdon* ‘fed’ pret.pl., as well as extension of geminates to positions in which they did not originally appear, e.g. *setteð* pres.3sg., see ibid.: §2.78n1.

[1] E.g. CP *ġelǣded*, *onsended*.

[2] Cf. also Ru1 *befest* ‘espoused’, *ġesett*, beside usual Angl unsyncopated forms.

[3] The motivation for this development, which is fundamentally dissimilatory in nature, most likely is avoidance of identical sounds in adjacent syllables; cf., e.g., the development of PGmc **-ðǣðun* in the preterite of this class, §6.84; the change of an unstressed back vowel to *e* when a back vowel follows in the next syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §6.64); and the tendency of *-od-* to be replaced by *-ad-* in the pret. and pa.part. of verbs of the second weak class with /o(ː)/ in the root, see §6.113. Phonological strategies for the avoidance of like sounds in successive syllables are common throughout the Gmc languages; cf., e.g., the change of [ʏ] to [ɔ] in Modern Icelandic dat.pl. in *-unum* [ɔ·nʏ·m], e.g. *bönunum* ‘bananas’.

[4] The two verbs are etymologically discrete, but they are inflected identically.

[5] Perhaps originally to class III, see §6.130.

[6] Usually weak in WS, due to coalescence with the Gmc weak verb reflected as Got *ráidjan* ‘determine’. Cf. §6.76.

6.94 A peculiarity of *settan* ‘set’ is that /i/ in the preterite was lost in WGmc, before the application of umlaut, as evidenced by OSax pret. *satta* alongside *setta*. For the most part, in OE the umlauted vowel of the present has been levelled into the pret. *sette* and pa.part. *sett*. The stem *ġesætt-*, however, is to be found in ÆLS (4×), ChronE, and some other LWS texts, as well as in Ru1 and Li (1× each), and cf. Li *ġesattedo* pa.part. *Settan* is thus like *leċġan* in this respect, see §6.101.

6.95 When the dental consonant that ends the stem is /ð/, syncope applies within its normal limits in all dialects. But /ð/ may be assimilated to the following /d/ in all dialects, thus WS *cȳdde* beside *cȳðde*, Li *cȳdde* beside *ġecȳðde*, Ru1 *cȳddun* beside *cȳðdon*. Other stems in /ð/ include *clǣðan* ‘clothe’, *cwīðan* ‘lament’, *ahȳðan* ‘plunder’, *lǣðan* ‘abuse, hate’, *nēðan* ‘venture’, *sēðan* ‘affirm’, *oferswīðan* ‘overcome’,[1] *wrǣðan* ‘anger’, and others.

[1] Also with a strong pret., see §6.43.

(iii) Stems in original final sonorant

6.96 The weight of the stem preceding the sonorant plays a decisive role in the development of stems ending in a postconsonantal sonorant /r, l, m, n/. (a) When a stem-final, postconsonantal sonorant follows an otherwise light syllable, syncope for the most part operates normally in the preterite, e.g. *efnde* 'performed', *seġlde* 'sailed'. Occasionally there appear exceptional forms in which orthographically there is no syncope, e.g. CP, ChronA *bytledon* 'built' (inf. *bytlan*),[1] ChronA 877.1 *siġelede*, ÆCHom *ġecwylmede* 'killed' (inf. *cwylman*), Li *ġeefnade*, *ġenæġlede* 'nailed'.[2] In such forms the unusual vowel before /d/ perhaps does not indicate lack of syncope but syllabification (or retention of syllabicity) of the preceding sonorant between consonants, comparable to the syllabification described in Hogg (1992b: §§6.34–40). This is what is suggested by metathetic parallel spellings of heavy-stemmed verbs in Nbr, e.g *timberde* 'built' for WS *timbrede*. (b) As in the pres.ind.2&3sg., see §6.81, when a stem-final postconsonantal sonorant follows an otherwise heavy syllable, there is always syllabification of the sonorant before the preterite suffix /d/, e.g. *bȳcnedon* 'signified', *frēfrede* 'consoled', *hyngrede* 'hungered', *timbrede* 'built', infs. *bȳcnan*, *frēfran*, *hyngran*, *timbran*.[3] There is a strong tendency for such verbs to be transferred to weak class II in all dialects, hence infs. *frēfrian*, *hyngrian*, *timbrian*. The motivation for this transferral is probably the consideration that, with the exclusion of prefixes, the pret. stem of other heavy-stemmed weak verbs of class I is usually monosyllabic. With the reduction of unstressed medial vowels to /ə/ and the dissimilation of unstressed back vowels, see ibid.: §6.64, for example with the development of a weak II pret. like *ġeþolodon* to *ġeþoledon* 'endured', a form already to be found in EWS, preterites like *timbrede* became formally indistinguishable from preterites of the second weak class. In PsGl(A) such preterites in fact are given spellings distinctly characteristic of verbs of class II, e.g. *timbrade*, though past participles are spelt in the WS manner, e.g. *timbred*. Ru1 is like PsGl(A) except that *-ed-* appears beside *-ad-* in the pret., e.g. *hyngrade*, *hyngrede*. Nbr has *-ad-* and *-ed-* in both preterites and past participles, in addition to forms like *timberde* mentioned above.

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[1] Perhaps significantly, there is no evidence of a verb *bytlian* (class II weak) in EWS. See below.

[2] Some other relevant verbs are *eġlan* 'afflict', *ræfnan* 'perform', *þrysman* 'stifle'. Certainly not to be included here is chiefly poetic pret. *maðelode* 'made a speech', which must have been formed not from *mæðlan* of class I but from the noun *mæþ(e)l* 'assembly'. It and the pret. *mǣlde* (from **mæðlde*) are confused orthographically in verse, where the metre often shows which form was intended. Given that anaptyxis is infrequent in verbs like *seġlde* even in late prose, metrically trisyllabic *maðelode* (with late orthographic *maðel-* for the poet's **maðl-*, see Fulk 1992: §249) must be due to a different cause. On this question, see Ringe (2004).

[3] Other verbs of this type include WS *dȳġlan* 'conceal', *(for)glendran* 'swallow', Angl *lēðran* 'anoint', *ofersyl(e)fran* 'silverplate', *symblan* 'banquet', *wrixlan* 'exchange', *wyrmsan*, *wyrsman* 'fester'.

6.97 Verbs with stems ending in approximants are subject to loss of the approximant in WGmc under some circumstances before */i/, see

Hogg (1992b: §§4.7–8). Thus, stems with final /w/ should lose it before pres.ind.2&3sg. **-is*, **-iþ*, imper.sg. **-i* and the pret. and pa.part. stem formative **-id-*. That is, a verb like LWS *ġyrwan* 'prepare' should lose /w/ everywhere a verb like *fremman* has a non-geminate. However, /w/ is almost always restored in stems in which it followed a vowel, e.g. LWS *hlȳwan*, *ġehlȳwð*, *ġehlȳwe* 'warm', beside *hlēowan*.[1] The relevant verbs with /w/ after a consonant are LWS *frætwan* 'adorn', **agǣlwan* 'terrify' (only pa.part. Or 4 10.103.17, Bo 34.86.10 *agǣlwed(e)*), *ġyrwan* 'prepare', *hyrwan* 'condemn', *nyrwan* 'confine', *rǣswan* 'consider', *smirwan* 'anoint', *syrwan* 'plot', **wylwan* 'roll' (e.g. pa.part. GD (H) 2.101.13, PsCaE 3(2).3 *-wylwed*). With /w/ after a long vowel[2] or diphthong are the verbs *bȳwan* 'rub', *hlȳwan* 'warm',[3] *lǣwan* 'betray', **sīowan* 'sew',[4] *forslǣwan* 'delay', **spīowan* 'spit',[5] LWS *ġetrȳwan* 'trust', LWS *ȳwan* 'show'.[6] The original forms from which /w/ has been deleted are in fact quite common in WS and Angl verbs in which /w/ followed a consonant, e.g. LWS *ġyreð*, *ġyrede*. But analogy often intervenes even in verbs in which /w/ follows a consonant, leading to restoration of /w/, e.g. *ġyrweð*, *ġyrwede*. As a consequence, the incidence of loss varies from verb to verb: e.g., *frætwan* never lacks <w>, but the postconsonantal approximant is usually missing from **wylwan*. Since loss of /w/ in such forms occurred in WGmc, forms in which */w/ was lost after /r/ or /l/ should not undergo breaking, and it is true, breaking is missing from EWS forms of *smirwan* and, in part, *sierwan*, e.g. CP *smirede*, *ġesirede*, though these might be explained according to ibid.: §5.165; but analogy intervenes to produce CP, Or *sierede*, etc. Restoration of /w/ must have been early, since it is found already in the early glossaries, e.g. EpGl *ġiġeruuid*, CorpGl *ġeġeruuid*, *ġesmirwid* pa.parts. Moreover, the increased syllable weight provided by the insertion of /w/ is metrically required in the conservative language of some poetry, e.g. Rid 20.2, 9, though more often are found forms without /w/ that would not scan if /w/ were inserted, e.g. Beo 994, 1472. Of course, *ġyrweð* and *ġyrwede* do not resemble normal heavy stems of class I, since such ought to have syncope, and indeed, some verbs of this type do show syncope frequently, e.g. LWS *ġenyrwð*, *ġenyrwde*. But instead of analogical restoration of /w/, there may be the opposite analogical development, with loss of /w/ from all forms. As a result, such verbs may be conjugated like *nerian*, e.g. inf. *wylian* 'roll' for **wylwan*, CP *ymbsieriað*. Naturally, then, they may develop preterites to class II in LWS, thus ÆCHom II, 11 93.51 *wylode*, LibSc 28.30 *bewylewud*, ÆCHom I, 5 *syrwodon*. Practice varies from verb to verb, however, so that, for example, *ġyrwan* rarely shows forms to class II,[7] whilst *nyrwan* inflects according to class II about half the time.[8] Verbs are treated differently according to dialect, as well: e.g., forms of *smirwan* are etymologically correct in PsGl(A), but there is loss of *w* in almost all forms of this verb in Nbr.

[1] Exceptional is CP *ætīede* 'showed' (2×). Cf. also prets. Ru2 *bilēde*, Li *beleede*, to Nbr **belēwan*. Often cited in this connexion is *ġehlȳde* pret.3sg., but we cannot at present authenticate the form. It appears in the 1698 edition of ÆCHom II, 35 by Thwaites (p. 165, l. 2), which was edited not from any of the four extant medieval manuscripts but from a transcript by William L'Isle, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud E. 381: see Cook (1898: lxxiii).

[2] On /w/ before /j/ after a short vowel, see §6.98.

[3] Etymologically, *hlȳwan* < WGmc **hliuwjan* is like *strēġan* < WGmc **strauwjan* (§6.98); the different results are due to the different treatment of /wj/ after /iu/ and /au/, such that **hliuwjan* loses /j/, whilst **strauwjan* loses /w/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.18), but cf. §6.98n1 regarding a problem with this explanation. Like *hlȳwan* in this respect is *ġetrȳwan*. Note that *hlȳwan* continues EWS **hlīewan*, whilst *hlēowan* shows the expected Angl development. Az 85 *hlēoð* pres.ind.pl. is analogical to Angl pret. **hlēode*.

[4] Only CorpGl 2 17.51 *siouu* pres.ind.1sg. and forms of the pa.part., e.g. *ġesiouuid*, *seowed*, all with uncertain vowel quantities. Possibly the verb belonged originally to class III: cf. OHG *siuwēn*.

[5] Only poetic prets. *spēowdon*, *spīowdon*, *spiowedon*. The quantity of the diphthong could be standardized as short if the verb were assumed to have originated in class III, though the cognates offer no support for that hypothesis. Alternatively, there may have been analogical influence from the strong verb *spīwan*.

[6] *Ȳwan* is an exception to the pattern revealed in *hlȳwan*, *trȳwan*, see n3, as it derives from **auwjan*. There also occurs an unumlauted form *ēawan* native to EWS and Angl, see §6.130. The preterite in class I should have been Pre-OE **eid-* from **ewid-* before loss of hiatus, but no reflex of this is found. Instead, the stem **ewid-* was transferred to class II and thus re-formed as **ewōd-*/**ewūd-*, producing WS *eowod-*, whence inf. *eowian* was formed. The stem *eow-* does not occur in Angl, and Beo 1738 *eoweð* spoils the metre, which instead requires a form with a heavy initial syllable. Like *ȳwan* in this respect is *bȳwan* 'rub', with pa.part. *a-*, *ġe-beowed* alongside *abȳwed*.

[7] In the unprefixed verb, only ProgGl 1.207 *ġerwiġan*, Solil 1 8.16 *ġyrwast*.

[8] The verb *rǣswan* is particularly rich in analogical variants, with restoration of /w/ in *rǣsweð*, *rǣswedest*, as well as transferral to class II both with and without /w/, e.g. *rǣswian*, *rǣswodan* alongside *rǣsian*, all once each.

6.98 When */w/ before */j/ followed a short vowel, it formed a diphthong with that vowel in PGmc. However, */w/ was preserved in PGmc if */j/ was lost early, as it was in the pres.ind.2&3sg.[1] Thus, in these forms as well as in the imper.sg. and all preterite forms, and the pa.part., */w/ should have stood before */i/ and thus should have been lost in WGmc. The result should have been a paradigm in which a diphthong before */j/ alternated with a short vowel before */i/, e.g. non-WS inf. *strēġan* 'strew' < **straujan* (< WGmc **strauwjan* (?),[2] see §6.97n3), alongside pa.part. *strēd* < **stræid* < **strawidaz*.[3] The relevant verbs are LWS *ċīġan* 'call', non-WS *strēġan*.[4] The expected forms do occur in some Angl texts, e.g. PsGl(A) *ċēð* 'calls', pa.part. *ġeċēd*, but regularly in WS, and often in Angl, <g> is extended from other forms, e.g. LWS *ċīġþ*, Nbr inf. *toġeċēiġa*. There is no trace of */w/ in *hnǣġan* 'abase' (cf. Got *hnáiwjan*), and /j/ is usually restored to all forms, e.g. *ġehnǣġde*, but cf. LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) 187 *ġehnǣde*. To *hnǣġan* cf. Angl **dīon* 'suck', with loss of /j/ throughout.[5]

[1] The early rise of this alternation offers an alternative explanation for a form like *hlȳwan* < **hliuwjan*, since the infinitive should have been **hliujan* in PGmc, and thus there would have been no /w/ to be geminated in WGmc. There may instead have been analogical extension of /w/ to this form from, e.g., pres.2sg. **hliwiþ*, with a result much like that seen in OE *cnēo(w)* 'knee' due to processes that occurred at a much later date, see §2.32. Accordingly, it may be that *strēġan* never developed an analogical /w/ but directly reflects Gmc **straujan*, contrary to Hogg (1992b: §3.18).

[2] But the verb possibly originates in class III, see §6.130.

[3] Beo 2436 *strēd* must be scanned as two syllables, of which the first may be light.

[4] *Hēġan* 'exalt' does not belong here, since it develops from **hauhijan*, see §6.99.

[5] From **dījan*, with loss of /j/ extended analogically throughout the paradigm. The attested forms are PsGl(A) *milcdēondra*, Nbr *dīendra* gen.pl. 'sucklings', Li *ġediides* pret.2sg. (corrupted to *deðedes* in Ru2). Cf. Old Swedish *dīa*, and compare, with full grade, OHG *tāen* 'suckle' < **dējan*.

(iv) Contracted verbs with loss of [h]

6.99 Loss of intervocalic [h] and of hiatus in the stems of weak verbs are not as consequential as in strong verbs, see §§6.38–9, but they do produce some irregularities. Loss of stem-final [h] should have occurred wherever the /j/ suffix was vocalic, i.e. in the same forms as those in which *fremman* has a non-geminate: pres.ind.2&3sg., imper.sg., preterite and past participle. Because the root vowel was always fronted by umlaut, it contracted with following /i/ to a monophthong. Hence we find, e.g., *þȳð* 'presses' < **þūhiþ*, pret. *þȳde*. In forms in which /j/ remained (and was subject to Sievers's Law after a heavy syllable), we might expect a development such as inf. **þūhijan* > **þȳ-ijan* > Rid 86.9 *þȳġan*,[1] and this may be the best explanation for forms like Bede 33.382.26 †*þȳġde* pret.sg.,[2] PsGl(I) *ðurhðȳġdon*, *ūtaðȳġdest*, formed by analogy to principal part (i).[3] But instead the inf. is usually *þȳwan* (whence pret. *þȳwde*, etc., by the same analogy), beside Lch II *þȳn* (2×), probably by analogy to *þȳð*, etc. We may perhaps imagine *þȳwan* to reflect **þūwijan*, in which /w/ developed in the hiatus left by the loss of [h]: cf. the insertion of /w/ into hiatus in strong verbs like *blāwan*, *sāwan*, etc., §6.70n4.[4] Like *þȳn* are *tȳn* 'instruct', *rȳn* 'roar', **sċȳn* 'urge'. It is doubtful whether infs. *þēon* 'press', *tēon* 'instruct' are to verbs of this type.[5] No inf. is attested to Li *ġeðrȳde* 'pressed', HomU 7 (ScraggVerc 22) 40 *ġeðrȳd* pa.part. or to Nic(A) 1.1.8 *ġewēð* 'twists', AldV 14.128 *ġewēde* pa.part. A development similar to that in *þȳġan* is seen in *hēġan* 'exalt' (cf. Got *háuhjan*), which has *ġ* extended analogically in HlGl (Oliphant) E41 *ġehīġde*, LWS *ġehȳd* (3×, from **ġehȳġd*, see Hogg 1992b: §7.71); PsGl(A) *upahēst*, *ġehēð*, poetic pret. *ġehēde*, *-on* show the expected development with loss of */j/ before */i/.[6] Some relevant forms of contracted verbs are attested in the early glossaries, some without contraction, e.g. EpGl 649 *fāēhit* 'paints', 661 *fāēdun* pret pl., 515 *sċȳhend* 'pursuer', CorpGl 2 5.400 *aþrȳid* 'plundered'. On LWS *þwyrian*, see §6.103n4. On contracted weak verbs, see further Fulk (2010b).

[1] Whether *þȳġan* is a form of this verb, however, is uncertain, as the text is fragmentary.

[2] Only in Cambridge University Library MS. Kk. 3, 18. The forms in the other mss lack <g>.

[3] Campbell (1977: §753(8)) and Brunner (1965: §408A17) instead explain *ġ* in such forms as modelled on verbs like *ċȳġan*. Their assumption must be that **-ij-* would have been lost after the heavy syllable before the loss of [h], but that assumption would be difficult to prove. It may be that the vocalic alternant spawned by Sievers's Law allowed /j/ to remain relatively late. Given the variety of analogical proportions required to explain the attested forms of these verbs, the early glossary forms cited below cannot be considered decisive counterevidence.

[4] The unattractive alternative is to reconstruct PGmc **þūwijan* beside **þūxijan*, see Campbell (1977: §753.8n3), yielding forms like those cited in §6.97.

[5] These are probably best analysed as strong infs. The sole evidence for *þēon* is Rid 40.91 *ġeþēon* and ÆHomM 15.340 *þēowde*, the former of which may be strong, the latter a result of scribal confusion with common *þēowde* 'served'. Dream 54 *forþēode* is more likely *forþ ēode*, as in Pope (2001: 11).

[6] Forms like inf. *hēan*, pa.part. *ġehēad* belong to weak class II, despite Brunner (1965: §408A17). See also §6.116 on whether the stem *hēġ-* might be to the second rather than the first class.

(v) Stems in final velar consonant

6.100 A number of verbs had no vowel */i/ before the dental preterite suffix in PGmc, with the consequence that they lack umlaut in the OE preterite and past participle. Their stems all ended in either /l/ or a velar consonant. Presumably /l/, too, was velar in such stems in PGmc, as it is in comparable contexts in PDE (though not in most modern Gmc languages), and absence of connecting */i/ may thus be explained as due to the articulatory mismatch between palatal */i/ and the preceding velar consonant.[1] WS stems ending in /l/ without umlaut in the preterite have principal parts like those of *tellan* 'tell':

(a) tellan tealde teald

Like *tellan* are *cwellan* 'kill', *dwellan* 'mislead', *stellan* 'position', *syllan* 'give' (EWS *sellan*, see Hogg 1992b: §5.171n2). There is breaking of PGmc **a* in the preterite and past participle in WS and Kt, but not in the Angl dialects: see Hogg (1992b: §5.15). The infinitives of verbs of this sort are unusual because they show no breaking prior to the umlaut of Pre-OE **æ* to *e*. The usual explanation is that /l/ was palatalized by the following /j/ in Gmc **teljan* and thus did not have the requisite velarity to cause breaking after WGmc gemination.[2] In addition, there are occasional preterites and past participles to these verbs formed like normal verbs with umlaut, particularly in Nbr, e.g. CædN 4 *astelidæ*, Li *acuoel(e)don*, *acwelled*, *ġeteled*, Ru2 *acweledun*, but also Or *onsteled*, *ġeteled* (the latter normal in poetry); and LWS *dwelian*, *dwelede*, *dwelode* (to *dwellan* 'deceive'), to be explained according to §6.88, to the extent that these are not simply confused with forms of class II *dwelian* 'err'. Verbs of this sort with stem-final consonants other than /l/ all have /x/ in the preterite, so that the dental suffix takes the form /t/.[3] The vocalism of verbs of this type is widely subject to analogical replacement. Several different subtypes may be categorized. The largest group is like *reċċ(e)an* 'recount':

(b) reċċan reahte, rehte reaht, reht

Like *reċċan* are *cweċċ(e)an* 'vibrate', *dreċċ(e)an* 'afflict', *leċċ(e)an* 'moisten', *streċċ(e)an* 'stretch', *þeċċ(e)an* 'cover', *w(r)eċċ(e)an* 'rouse'.[4] Possibly also to be categorized here is *wleċċan* 'make tepid'.[5] Spellings with <ea> in principal parts (ii–iii) are absent from Ælfric,[6] and those with <e> extended from the present are to be found already in the early glossaries (e.g. EpGl *arectae*), in EWS and in PsGl(A), in the last beside smoothed <æ>. Similar to *reċċan* but with /y/ in the root is **clyċċ(e)an* 'clutch, clench'.[7] To be distinguished from *reċċan* 'recount' (a) is *reċċ(e)an* 'care' (c):

(c) reċċan rōhte rōht

The earlier form of the inf. was **rēċan* < **rōkjan* (cf. OSax *rōkian*), but there is no firm evidence for a long vowel in the present in any dialect of OE;[8] cf. already in CorpGl 2 14.631 *reċċileas* 'heedless'. The shortened vowel can be explained as the result of the geminate consonant, but the cause of the gemination is not plain.[9] Like *reċċ(e)an* but retaining the original long vowel is *sēċ(e)an* 'seek':

(d) sēċan sōhte sōht

Shortening like that in *reċċ(e)an* (b) is probably to be assumed in *læċċ(e)an* 'seize':

(e) læċċan lāhte, lǣhte lāht, lǣht

Mostly Nbr spellings of this verb with <a> in the pret., coupled with the absence of spellings with <ea>,[10] render it fairly certain that the vowel in the pret. is long. The etymon thus should be reconstructed with PGmc */ai/ in the root.[11] Like *læċċan* but retaining the long vowel derived from PGmc */ai/ is *tǣċ(e)an* 'teach':

(f) tǣċan tāhte, tǣhte tāht, tǣht

Like *tǣċan* is *rǣċ(e)an* 'reach', possibly also **ofhǣċan* 'hack off'.[12,13] Angl forms retain <a> in principal parts (ii–iii), whilst <æ> in principal parts (ii–iii), borrowed from the present, appears already in EWS, beside <a>, and in some late texts, including ChronE, BenRGl and some charters. One verb with unumlauted preterite has PGmc */r/ before stem-final */k/, *wyrċ(e)an* ‘work’:

(g)	wyrċan	worhte	worht

The root contains PGmc **ur* < PIE **r̥*, with **u* retained before umlauting **j* in the present but lowered to *o* elsewhere.[14] Not infrequent metathesized preterites like *wrohte* are LWS (once in Ru2), as are pret. *forwyrhte*, pa.part. *forwyrht* to the derivative *forwyrċan* ‘sin’. Consistent PsGl(A) *wirċ-* in the present is from the full grade, PIE **werǵ-y-*, as in OSax *wirkian*; otherwise, sporadic WS *wirċan* (also in Li, Ru2) is due to unrounding, cf. Got *waurkjan*, and see Hogg (1992b: §5.31). Angl pret. forms like *warhte* are found in CorpGl 2, LS 3 (Chad), Or, PsCaE, RuneMortain 1, see ibid.: §5.34.[15] Similar to *wyrċan* is *byċġ(e)an* ‘buy’, with a present like that of *fremman* (§6.80):

(h)	byċġan	bohte	boht

The pres.ind.3sg. is WS *byġeþ*, see §6.85. Finally, three verbs have /n/ in the present that is missing from the preterite, *brenġ(e)an* ‘bring’, *þenċ(e)an* ‘think’, *þynċ(e)an* ‘seem’:

(i)	brenġan[16]	brōhte	brōht
	þenċan	þōhte	þōht
	þynċan	þūhte	þūht

In the preterite these show the effect of the loss of a nasal consonant before */x/ in PGmc, with compensatory lengthening, e.g. **ƀranxtǣ* > *brōhte*, see ibid.: §3.13. It is noteworthy that when nouns with the suffix *-nes(s)* are formed to verbs without umlaut in the preterite, an umlauted present stem is used, hence *wyrcnis* ‘operation’, *gereċenis* ‘direction’, although other weak verbs employ the preterite stem, see §6.90.

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[1] See Hogg (1971). For a more elaborate explanation, involving absorption of */i/ and re-velarization of /l/, see Prokosch (1939: §67(c)).

[2] By contrast, there is breaking in GD 1 (H) 5.44.11 *griellan* ‘provoke’, LWS *awyllan* ‘boil’ (EWS **awiellan*), the latter, at least, with a PGmc geminate, cf. ON *vella*, whilst the etymology of the former is uncertain. It thus may be that palatalization of /l/ depended upon a following consonantal /j/, so that after heavy syllables the alternant **-ij-* under Sievers’s Law did not block the operation of breaking: see Barrack (1998: 153–5).

[3] The preterites of some of these archaic verbs thus cannot be reconstructed as originating in periphrases with the etymon of PDE *do*, as then it would be difficult

to explain why there is devoicing in *bohte* ‘bought’ and similar forms, see §6.79&n7. Rather, the preterite of such forms must be reconstructed with PIE */t/, PGmc */θ/, which would devoice the preceding /ɣ/ in PGmc **buʒ-þ-* and then lose frication by dissimilation from the preceding fricative. See §§6.79, 6.108. The */ð/ in the prets. *tealde*, etc. is then to be explained by the process described in Hogg (1992b: §4.18).

[4] The usual form is *weċċ(e)an*; *wreċċ(e)an* is LWS, but cf. also CP 28.193.20 *wreċċan*. In Li, *weċċa(n)* is confused with *wæċċ(e)a(n)* ‘keep vigil’, hence pres.ind.3sg. *auæċċeð*, subj. *awæċċe*, etc., beside forms with <e>. Similar confusion reigns in regard to PDE *wake*, *awake*, *waken*, *awaken*.

[5] There occurs a stem *ġewlæht-* (3×) in Lch I and PrudGl 1, beside *ġewleht-* (3×) in Lch I, II, the former perhaps smoothed from *ġewleaht-*. The stem is etymologically light, PGmc **wlakjan*, cf. *wlæc*, *wlacu* ‘tepid’. Unsyncopated *ġewleċed-* (5×) in Lch II seems an analogical re-formation.

[6] Only ÆHomM 2 (Irv 3) 353 *astreahtum*, in a late ms.

[7] On the basis of Notes 2 (Kluge) 18.116 *clyċe* imper.sg. and LibSc 25.9 *ġecliht* pa.part., Brunner (1965: §407A12) posits a similar verb **sċyċċ(e)an* ‘seduce’ by comparison to *sċucca* ‘succubus’, given the preterites *sċyhte*, *asċihtest* in poetry and Psalter glosses. But the verb is more usually identified as **sċyhtan* by comparison to **sċȳn* or **sċȳġan* (see §6.99) ‘urge’ < **skū̆hijan*.

[8] The possibilities are examined by Brunner (1965: §407A3).

[9] In regard to the vowel shortening, Hogg (1992b: §5.199) offers no solution, but see Fulk (1998).

[10] Only ÆLS (Eugenia) 383 *ġeleaht*.

[11] An appealing possibility is the oft-cited proposal that the word is cognate with Grk *λάζομαι* ‘I seize’ < PIE **lag*^{w}*-y-*, giving Gmc **lakwj-*, see Orel (2003: 234), with references. But aside from the problem of the preterite spellings, there is the difficulty that the umlaut of Gmc **a* before an OE geminate is OE *e*, not *æ*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.80).

[12] Only ÆLet 2 (Wulfstan 1) 190 †*ofhǣ̆hte* pret.3sg. in the edition of Fehr (1914: 136), from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201.

[13] The form *bedǣ̆hte* cited by Brunner (1965: §407A12) from AldV 1.1499 is a ghost; the more recent edition by Goossens (1974) used by the *DOEC* has instead *betǣhte*. See Bammesberger (1976b).

[14] The situation is partly explained in Hogg (1992b: §3.10), cf. Brunner (1965: §45.5), with some details. After the development of PIE **o* to **a* in Gmc, there was no **o*, and *o* in the Gmc languages is thus usually to be ascribed to the lowering of **u*. The chief exception in OE is the development of Gmc **a* before nasal consonants, see ibid.: §5.3, though this <o> remains distinct from **o* derived by the lowering of **u*.

[15] In ME, *wa-* for OE *wo-* is restricted chiefly to the North and to the North-East Midlands in *wald-* and *warld*, dot maps 168, 291 in McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin (1986: I); also East Anglia for the latter.

[16] More commonly the strong stem *bring-* is used. Weak *brenġ-* is especially common in EWS, Kt and Nbr; *bring-* is the exclusive stem in PsGl(A), and it is nearly so in LWS. See §6.57(e).

6.101 A special case is *leċgan* ‘lay’, which, like *settan* (§6.94), did not originally belong to the category of weak preterites without umlaut, but from which /i/ in the preterite was lost in WGmc, as evidenced by OSax pret. *lagda* alongside *legda*. For the most part, in OE the umlauted vowel of the present has been levelled into the pret. *leġde*. In WS, the pret. stem

læġd- appears chiefly in late manuscripts (e.g. ÆHomM 2, 7; ChronD, E s.a. 1064ff.), but cf. Ru1 *læġdun*, *alæġde*, Mart 5 (Kotzor) *onlæġde*. WS has also forms like *lēde*, *ġelēd*, with compensatory lengthening, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.128, 7.71).

6.102 Not all stems in final velar consonants lack umlaut in the preterite. The reason is that those showing no umlaut belong to an ancient category of so-called primary verbs, that is, with non-derived stems, see Bammesberger (1986b: 69). Later accretions to the class of weak verbs, being secondary, form the preterite in the normal manner, e.g. *fylġ(e)an* ‘follow’, LWS *awyrġ(e)an* ‘curse, strangle’, LWS *ȳċ(e)an* ‘increase’, *ġewǣċ(e)an* ‘weaken’:

(a)	fylġan	fylġde	ġefylġed
	awyrġan	awyrġde	awyrġed
(b)	ȳċan	ȳcte	ȳċed
	ġewǣċan	ġewǣcte	ġewǣċed

Others like *fylġan* include LWS *bīġan* ‘turn aside’, *ǣbylġ(e)an* ‘offend’, LWS *byrġ(e)an* ‘bury; taste’,[1] *drȳġ(e)an* ‘dry’, *fēġan* ‘unite’, LWS *aflȳġ(e)an* ‘put to flight’, *swēġ(e)an* ‘make a sound’, *wrēġan* ‘stir up’. In such verbs *ġ* after a consonant may become syllabic, e.g. *fyliġan*, *fyliġð*, *fyliġde*, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.36, 43–4). Other verbs like *ȳċan* include *cnyċċ(e)an* ‘tie’, *dēċ(e)an* ‘smear’, *nēalǣċ(e)an* ‘approach’, *ōleċċ(e)an* ‘soothe’, *bepǣċ(e)an* ‘betray’, *sȳċ(e)an* ‘give suck’, *þryċċ(e)an* ‘press’, *wleċċ(e)an* ‘make tepid’,[2] and compounds in *-lǣċ(e)an* besides *nēalǣċan*, i.e. *ġedyrst-*, *ġeefen-*, *ġeriht-lǣċ(e)an*, etc.[3] Because the cluster *-ct-* arose in the preterite and inflected past participle of such verbs only after syncope, we do not see the regular development to *-ht-* that occurs in verbs without umlaut in the preterite, §6.100. However, probably by analogy to them, *-ct-* is very often replaced by *-ht-* in these verbs, with considerable regularity in LWS, e.g. *ȳhte*, *nēalǣhte*, *bepǣhte*, *ġewǣhte*. That this change is largely analogical is suggested by the observation that much less frequent is the change of /k, g, ɣ/ to /x/ before the pres.ind.2&3sg. inflexions *-st*, -ð in verbs with and without umlaut in the preterite, e.g. *tǣhst* ‘teach’, *ġenēalǣhð* ‘approaches’, *bepǣhð* ‘betrays’, see §6.13. In Ælfric there occur uninflected participles like *ġeefenlǣht* ‘emulated’, *ġenēalǣht* ‘approached’ beside expected forms like *ġerihtlǣċed* ‘rectified’, *ġedēċed* ‘smeared’.

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[1] The two verbs are etymologically discrete, though they have identical forms.

[2] On unusual forms of *wleċċan*, see §6.100n5.

[3] Eichner (1992) lists 37 OE verbs bearing the suffix *-lǣċan* and demonstrates the chiefly late, artificial morphological relation they bear to adjectives in *-liċ*.

6.103 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, weak verbs of class I include *sendan* ‘send’, *sellan* ‘give’, *settan* ‘set’, *hȳran* ‘hear, obey’, *fēran* ‘go’, *cennan* ‘produce’, *wyrċan* ‘create’, *leċġan* ‘lay’, *andwyrdan* ‘answer’, *lǣran* ‘teach’, *lǣdan* ‘lead’, *wendan* ‘turn’, *sēċan* ‘seek’, *dēman* ‘judge’, *mētan* ‘meet’, *lȳsan* ‘redeem’, *andettan* ‘confess’, *bringan* ‘bring’,[1] *herian* ‘praise’, *drēfan* ‘oppress’, *cȳðan* ‘expose’, *bētan* ‘atone for’, *fyllan* ‘fill’, *hǣlan* ‘heal, redeem’, *lȳfan* ‘believe; allow’,[2] *nemnan* ‘name’, *þynċan* ‘seem’, *rǣran* ‘raise’, *ċyrran* ‘turn’, *restan* ‘rest’, *ȳwan* ‘show’, *tǣċan* ‘instruct’, *byrġan* ‘bury; taste’[2] and their derivatives. Weak verbs of class I are very numerous. Some verbs inflected like *nerian* are the following: *berian* ‘clear’, *byrian* ‘befit’, *derian* ‘injure’, *erian* ‘till’, *ferian* ‘go’, *herian* ‘praise’, *onhyrian* ‘emulate’, *amerian* ‘test’, WS *sċirian* ‘ordain’,[3] WS *besċirian* ‘deprive of’,[3] *snyrian* ‘hasten’, *spyrian* ‘ask’, *styrian* ‘stir’, *þwyrian* ‘oppose’,[4] *werian* ‘defend; wear’,[2] *ġewerian* ‘clothe’. Some verbs like *fremman* (and not like *fyllan*, see §6.92) are the following:[5] *clynnan* ‘ring’, *cnyssan* ‘dash’, *dynnan* ‘resound’, *gremman* ‘provoke’, **heċġan* ‘fence in’, **hellan* ‘hide’, *hlynnan* ‘make a noise’, *hrissan* ‘shake’, *sċeþþan* ‘damage’,[6] WS *asċillan* ‘divide’,[3] *aswebban* ‘put to sleep’, **besweþþan* ‘wrap’, **syllan* ‘sully’, *temman* ‘tame’, *trymman* ‘strengthen’, *þennan* ‘stretch out’, *þiċġan* ‘accept’,[7] *weċġ(e)an* ‘agitate’, *wennan* ‘accustom’, *wreþþan* ‘support’. In addition to the verbs listed above as amongst the commonest in the *MCOE*, as well as verbs with original geminates, see §6.92, a few amongst the very many verbs inflected like *fēran* are the following: *ǣlan* ‘kindle’, *ærnan* ‘cause to run’, *cēlan* ‘cool’, LWS *ċīġan* ‘call’, *beclȳsan* ‘confine’, *tocwȳsan* ‘crush’, *drǣfan* ‘drive out’, *drēfan* ‘disturb’, LWS *flȳman* ‘put to flight’, *fȳsan* ‘hasten’, *forgǣġ(e)an* ‘transgress’, *glenġ(e)an* ‘trim’, *glēsan* ‘gloss’, LWS *ġȳman* ‘heed’, LWS *ġyrnan* ‘desire’, *hǣman* ‘copulate’, *hrinġ(e)an* ‘ring’, LWS *hwyrfan* ‘turn’, LWS *hȳnan* ‘abase’, *lǣfan* ‘leave’, *lǣnan* ‘lend’, *lenġ(e)an* ‘lengthen’, *mǣnan* ‘mention’, *menġ(e)an* ‘mingle’, *benǣman* ‘deprive’,[8] *rǣsan* ‘rush’, *rȳman* ‘make room’, *sprenġ(e)an* ‘scatter’, LWS *strȳnan* ‘engender, amass’, WS *stēoran*, *stȳran* ‘steer’,[9] *tǣlan* ‘censure’, *tǣsan* ‘pull’, *tenġ(e)an* ‘press towards’, *oftyrfan* ‘stone’, LWS *wyrnan* ‘withhold’. For a list of verbs inflected like *fēran* with stems ending in /t/ or /d/, see §6.93; in PGmc */k/ or */ɣ/, §6.102.

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[1] Strong present: see §§6.57(e), 6.100n16.

[2] The two senses are etymologically discrete, but the relevant forms are indistinguishable.

[3] With palatal diphthongization, Hogg (1992b: §5.53).

[4] From **þwiorhijan*, giving EWS **þwierian*, without compensatory lengthening, see Hogg (1992b: §5.124). Forms like *ġeþweorod* pa.part. (transferred to weak class II) have /eo/ by analogy to *þweorh* ‘contrary’.

[5] Many of these are attested only without geminates, with infs. in *-ian*, see §6.88.

[6] Also strong, see §§6.65, 6.67.

[7] Also strong, see §§6.53, 6.63&n2; the stem *þiċġ-* is etymologically strong.

[8] On the difficult vocalism of the root, see Bammesberger (1979).

[9] On the vocalism, see Hogg (1992b: §5.84).

2 *Weak class II*

6.104 The second class of weak verbs is the only one to which new verbs were regularly added during the historical OE period. Gmc weak verbs of class II are comparable to Latin verbs of the first conjugation, e.g. *amāre* 'to love', since they are both formed with the PIE suffix **-eH-* > **-ā-*, which in PGmc develops to **-ō-*. In origin this PIE **-ā-* is the stem formative of feminine nouns like Lat *libra* 'pair of scales' (cf. verb *librāre* 'balance'), Grk *τιμή* 'honour' (fem. noun; cf. *τιμάω* 'I honour'), OE *lufu* 'love' < PGmc **luƀō* (noun; cf. *lufi(ġ)an* 'to love' class II), since, originally, verbs of this class were derived from feminine nouns, see §6.79n3. But the class was highly productive, so that new verbs were formed from many different sources, not all of them nominal. That is, the PIE suffix **-ā-* came to be added to noun stems that had never borne the suffix, e.g. Lat *dōnāre* 'give' (verb; cf. neut. *dōnum* 'gift'), OE *lofian* 'honour' (verb; cf. neut. *lof* 'honour'), and to stems other than noun stems, e.g. OE *hālgian* 'hallow' (cf. *hāliġ* 'holy'), *clifian* 'adhere'[1] (cf. strong *clīfan* 'adhere'), *ūtian* 'expel' (cf. adv. *ūt* 'out').

6.105 Like weak verbs of class I, those of class II derive from a PIE formation in which **-y-* was added to the present stem, as with Sanskrit *pr̥tanāyáti* 'fights' < **pr̥tenā-y-e-ti* (cf. fem. noun *pr̥tanā* 'fight'). Thus, in PGmc the present stem of weak verbs of class II was formed by the addition of **-ō-* + **-j-* + inflexion after the theme vowel following **-j-* was absorbed into the original inflexion, just as in other verbs, see §§6.4, 6.82. Unlike in weak class I, however, but as in PIE, the suffix **-j-* was added only to the present stem. In the preterite and past participle, in PGmc the same dental suffix as in class I was added directly to the stem formative **-ō-*, hence inf. *lufi(ġ)an* 'love' < **luƀ-ō-j-anan*, but pret.3sg. *lufode* < **luƀ-ō-ðǣ*. What we see in *lufiġan* is umlaut of **ō* to **ē* by the following **j*, followed by shortening of **ē* to **e* under low stress, and then raising to /i/ before /j/, much as in adjectives in *-iġ* < **-æġ*, see Hogg (1992b: §§6.51–2). As in such adjectives, the raising of */e/ to /i/ occurred too late for the latter to cause umlaut of the root vowel. When umlaut is encountered in the root, this is usually a sign of a verb transferred from weak class III, see §6.129.

(a) *Inflexions*

6.106 In EWS the inflexions of weak verbs of class II are, with the exceptions discussed below, the same for all stems, regardless of weight. They may be exemplified by the paradigm of *lofi(ġ)an* 'praise':

[1] In origin a verb of class III, see §6.130.

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	lofiġe	lofiġe	
2	lofast	lofiġe	lofa
3	lofað	lofiġe	
Pl.	lofiað	lofiġen	lofiað
Preterite			
Sg. 1	lofode	lofode	
2	lofodest	lofode	
3	lofode	lofode	
Pl.	lofodon	lofoden	
Infinitive	lofian		
Infl.inf.	to lofianne		
Pres.part.	lofiende		
Pa.part.	lofod		

It will be seen that verbs of this class have *-i(ġ)-* wherever verbs like *fremman*, §6.80, have a geminate. On the co-occurrence of *-i-* and *-iġ-*, see Hogg (1992b: §7.76). In WS, *-iġ-* is normal before the ending *-e(n)*, but *-i-* and *-iġ-* vary freely before *e* in the inflected infinitive and pres.part., whilst *-iġ-* or *-iġe-* before *a* is exceedingly infrequent in Ælfric, though it is not uncommon elsewhere.[1] In LWS, *-ion* occurs frequently in the pres.subj.pl., with the same distribution as *-on* in strong verbs, see §6.23. Unlike in verbs such as *nerian* of class I, *-i-* in verbs of class II is syllabic.[2] As regards the co-occurrence of <e> and <a> in the inflected infinitive that is seen also in other classes, see §§6.6n1, 6.80n1, *-i(ġ)anne* is the usual form in EWS, and it is used almost exclusively in Angl; note that PsCaA 2 19.27 to *ārwyrþienne* is in the LWS portion of the gloss. Ælfric, however, has *-ianne* only very rarely (and never *-iġanne*). In the pret. and pa.part., *-od-* is the usual form of the dental suffix in LWS, but *-ad-* and *-ud-* also occur, for reasons explained in §6.113; and *-ed-* is quite common in WS, both Early and Late, especially before *-on*, by dissimilation, see ibid.: §6.64.

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[1] To supplement what is said in Hogg (1992b: §7.76), it should be remarked that *-iġa-* is not infrequent in EWS, though *-ia-* plainly predominates. Note also the spelling CP, Mart 4 *plegean* for *plegian*, where <ge> may be simply /j/ (see §6.130), as is certainly the case in Or *herġean* 'harry', cf. pret. *herġeade*.

[2] See §6.80. As further evidence, Brunner (1965: §412A1) points out that syllabicity is probably indicated by acutes written on *i* in verbs of this class in CP (H), e.g. *cliepíað*, *forhradíen*. Exceptions to the rule of syllabic *-i-* are chiefly examples of inflected infinitives and present participles, see §6.112; spellings with simple <g> in other forms are exceedingly rare, e.g. BenRW *sċēawġe*.

6.107 As with the strong verbs, plural verb endings are generally reduced, though in this class to *-i(ġ)e* rather than *-e*, before pronouns of the first and second persons in WS, less regularly in Angl, see §6.7. Present and past participles are declined the same way as the corresponding participles of weak class I, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.28–9).

6.108 The suffix _*-āy-e-_ ~ _*-āy-o-_ that marked verbs of this type in PIE should be expected to have developed in PGmc to _*-ōj-i-_ ~ _*-ōj-a-_. According to the older view, this PGmc stem formative is directly reflected in forms like OE _lofian_ < _*luƀōjan_. However, in Got, ON and OHG there is no trace of */j/ in verbs of this type, rather the reflexes of stems in *-_ō_- to which inflexions were added directly, without any intervening */j/. Accordingly, it now appears much more likely that */j/ after an unstressed vowel other than */i/ was lost in PGmc,[1] with subsequent loss of hiatus, and _*-ōj-i-_ and _*-ōj-a-_ thus developed to *-_ō_-. The */j/ reflected in forms of these verbs in OE, OFris and (in part) OSax is thus a NSGmc innovation, whereby the terminations of heavy-stemmed verbs of weak class I were added to Gmc stems in *-_ō_-. Thus, for example, pres.ind.pl. _*luƀō-þ_ was re-formed to _*luƀō-jaþ_ by analogy to heavy-stemmed forms of class I like _*fōri-jaþ_, whilst pres.ind.3sg. _*luƀō-þ_ remained unchanged, given the analogy to _*fōri-þ_.[2] The forms tabulated in §6.106 may thus be derived from an analogously constructed NSGmc paradigm of the following type, with the exceptions noted below in §6.109:

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	*luƀōjō	*luƀōjai	
2	*luƀōs	*luƀōjais	*luƀō
3	*luƀōþ	*luƀōjai	
Pl.	*luƀōjā̃þ	*luƀōjain	*luƀōjā̃þ
Preterite			
Sg. 1	*luƀōðǣ	*luƀōðī	
2	*luƀōðǣs		
3	*luƀōðǣ	*luƀōðī	
Pl.	*luƀūðun	*luƀōðīn	
Infinitive	*luƀōjanã		
Infl.inf.	*tō luƀōjannjai		
Pres.part.	*luƀōjandī		
Pa.part.	*luƀōðaz		

The typical paradigm of a verb of weak class II was thus formed from a stem in *-_ō_- to which two kinds of inflexions were added, those with initial *-_j_- and those without it. In the pret.ind.pl., *_ō_ > *_ū_ under the influence of _u_ in the following syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §3.34), and see further §6.113 on the consequences of this.

[1] The objections of Birkhan (1974: 4–7) are unconvincing.

[2] This is the persuasive argument of Cowgill (1959). Neutralization of the sg. and pl. in the forms cited provides a partial motive for the analogical change, but the structure of the preterite was no doubt also a contributing factor, since, e.g., **luƀō-ðǣ* parallels **fōri-ðǣ*, inviting analogous correspondences in the present stem. The rationale for positing PIE **-ā-y-e/o* rather than simply **-ā-* as the stem formative lies with non-Gmc comparative evidence.

6.109 The forms in §6.106 directly reflect those in §6.108, with the same exceptions as are noted for strong verbs in §6.9. The development of pres.ind.2sg. **-ōs* to OE *-ast* is paralleled by the development of pret.ind.2sg. **-ð-ǣs* to OE *-d-est*, cf. §6.84. On the development of the termination **-ðǣðun* in the pret.ind.pl. (with similar development in the pret.subj.), what is said in §6.84 applies here, as well.

6.110 As regards the distribution of *-i(ġ)e-* and *-i(ġ)a-* outside of WS, in lKt the situation resembles that in EWS, see §6.106, except that *-iġa-* never occurs. In Merc, PsGl(A) has almost consistently *-ie-* and *-ia-*,[1] whilst, conversely, Ru1 has mostly *-iġe-*, *-iġa-*, *-iġæ-*.[2] In Nbr, *-iġe-* and *-iġo* are the rule, whilst *-ia-*, rare beside *-iġa-* in Ru2, is commoner in Li and DurRitGl.

[1] The exceptions are *ġearwiġu*, *ġenyhtsumeġende*, *ondettiġen*, *ondettiġað*; but *ġedeafineað* looks like orthographic metathesis of **ġedeafeniað*.

[2] Brown (1891–2: II, §50) reports *-iġ-* 63×, *-i-* 15×, *-ġ-* 1×, Ø 56×. In addition, *-i-* may be extended from the pres.ind.pl. to the 3sg. Conversely, *-i-* may be missing from the ind. and imper. plural, e.g. *ġesomnaþ*, *forhtaþ*.

6.111 There is great variability in the inflexions to this class found in Ru1 and in Nbr, with many innovations and analogical forms. Thus, for example, Kolbe (1912: §199.3) lists the following endings for the pres.ind.3sg. in Li: *-að*, *-iað*, *-aðe* (prob. for pret. *-ade*), *-as*, *-ias*, *-eð*, *-es*, *-ies*, *-æð*, *-æs*, *-et*, *-aġið*, *-aið*, *-iaġað*, *-aġeð*, *-aġes*.[1] By contrast, inflexion is rather regular in PsGl(A), where the only notable variants are rare forms in *-iġ-* or *-eġ-* instead of *-i-*, occasional inflected infinitives and pres.parts. without *-i-* (see §6.112), and occasional *-ud-*, more frequent *-ed-*, for usual *-ad-* in the pret. and pa.part., see Zeuner (1881: §53).

[1] Brunner (1965: §412A3–10) offers an accounting of such dialect forms.

6.112 Medial vowels, even those originally long, are often syncopated when followed by a heavy syllable bearing tertiary stress, cf. Hogg (1992b: §6.31). Such a situation presented itself in the inflected infinitive and the pres.part. of weak verbs of class II, where **ō* should have developed to **a*, which would then be syncopated before the following heavy syllable, thus producing **luƀjændi*, **luƀjænni*. This development was too late to produce gemination before /j/, and probably too late for /j/ to cause umlaut of the root vowel; but after a heavy stem the /j/ would be lost, e.g. **fund-jændi* > **fundændi*. The distinction in the development of light and heavy stems in this respect is observable in the early Merc glossaries, where we find, e.g., EpGl light-stemmed *uuidirhliniendae* 'reclining under', *tilġendum* 'endeavouring' alongside heavy-stemmed *gānaende* 'gaping', *hlēodendri* 'resounding' (for *hlēodrendi*), *torctendi* 'showing', etc.; but already there is levelling in light-stemmed *dobendi* 'doting' (cf. CorpGl *dobġendi*). The difference is also observable in poetry, where there occur spellings like GuthA,B *gnornende* 'lamenting' (3×), El, Phoen *drūsende* 'failing', and where such words even when spelt with *-i-* must usually be scanned without it, e.g. Ex 453 *flugon forhtiġende*, see Sievers (1885: 482). In the major Angl texts the original distinction has been much disrupted by analogy, but forms of the inflected infinitive and pres.part. without *-i-* are quite common in both light and heavy stems.[1] In WS and Kt, however, the forms with *-i-* have almost consistently been generalized, although simple *-ġ-* occasionally appears, especially in the infl.inf. and pres.part., e.g. ChrodR 1 *to mōdġenne* 'to be overbearing', BenRGl *to mōtġenne*, though these forms are surely not archaisms.

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[1] The Angl texts and forms are surveyed by Brunner (1965: §412A10).

6.113 Whilst the usual form of the dental suffix in the pret. and pa.part. is *-od-* in WS, in Kt and Angl it is *-ad-*. The latter represents a generalization of the reflex of the shortening of **-ōd-* found in most forms of the pret. and pa.part., whereas the former represents the analogical extension of the reflex of the shortening of **-ūd-* found in the pret.ind.pl. and in some cases of the pa.part., e.g. dat.pl. **luƀūdum*, cf. e.g. §2.84. In the latter form of the suffix, with **-ū-*, the vowel after shortening should have been syncopated after a heavy syllable, but apparently it was preserved or restored by analogy to the form of the suffix found after light syllables.[1] The analogical extension of *-ad-* and *-ud-/-od-* is far advanced already in the earliest glossaries, e.g. ErfGl *suarnadun* 'coagulated', *meldadum* 'informed', EpGl *aslacudae* 'slackened', *ġereġnodae* 'rained' beside etymological *suornodun*, *līthircadae* 'flattered', *ġesuidradrae* 'diminished', etc. The form of the suffix *-ad-* is unusual in LWS, but it is not infrequent in Ælfric when the root of the verb contains /o(ː)/ or /u/, e.g. *bodade* 'announced', *ġeopenade* 'opened', *ðrōwade* 'suffered', *wunade* 'remained', *ġeedcucade* 'revived', *suwade* 'was silent', *lufade* 'loved'. In keeping with the tendency for unstressed vowels to lose their distinctiveness, see Hogg (1992b: §6.62), especially in lOE, in all dialects the dental suffix may appear as *-ed-*, even when a back vowel does not follow, e.g. *(-)wunede* in Ælfric, PsGl(A), Ru1, Li; cf. also EWS CP *ofermōdġede*, Kt OccGl *ġeðafede* 'allowed', etc.

Occasionally there are to be found preterites with simple *-d-*, unaccompanied by any reflex of **ō*, on the basis of analogy to verbs of class III that have been transferred to class II, see §6.130, e.g. Li *ym(b)sċēawde*.[2]

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[1] Cf. Hogg (1992b: §6.32n1). This analysis is at variance with that of Campbell (1977: 351), who follows Luick in supposing that shortening of high vowels took place after high vowel syncope. The reasons for such an assumption are countered in Fulk (1992: §§187–93). Rather, WS forms like *gyldenum* < **gulðīnum* that appear to be unsyncopated are better explained as showing the same analogical restoration of the syncopated syllable that is seen in forms like *hāliġe*, see §4.47. It seems impossible to prove that *a* as the reflex of **ō* would not also have been syncopated, but if it had been, there would have been syncope in the preterite of all heavy-stemmed verbs of weak class II, and it would then be surprising that, with rare hypothetical exceptions like Li *ym(b)sċēawde*, not a single such syncopated form survived as a relic. See Fulk (1992: §228).

[2] See further Ross (1937: 151–2).

(b) Stems

6.114 Stems with /i/ (or /e/ in *seofian* 'lament', the umlaut of */a/) in a light root syllable were subject to back umlaut in the preterite and past participle, as well as in present forms bearing inflexions that did not begin with */j/ (see §6.108), under the usual limiting conditions in each dialect, e.g. EWS *cliopode*, *cleopode*, Merc *cleopade*, Nbr *cliopade* 'called'. In all dialects, the diphthong that thus resulted could be levelled into forms with inflexions in */j/, thus EWS *cleopian*, etc., beside WS *clipian*, Ru1 *clipiġende*. In WS there is a strong tendency for back umlaut to be levelled out of all forms, so that, in texts other than those showing Angl influence, rarely is back umlaut found in verbs other than *clipian* and *tilian*, e.g. PPs (prose) 21.11 *ġeonað*, ÆHom 21.100 *cleofode*, and /i/ is very often restored even in the preterite of *clipian* and *tilian*. But *seofian* always has back mutation. The relevant verbs, in addition to *clipian*, are *bifian* 'tremble',[1] *clifian* 'adhere',[1] *ġinian* 'yawn',[1] *hlinian* 'lean',[1] *hnipian* 'droop', *seofian* 'lament', *tilian* 'cultivate'.[1] In addition, *stician* 'stab' might show back umlaut in Kt only, see Hogg (1992b: §5.103), hence CollGl 12.23 *stiocode* alongside OccGl 49 22.23 *ofsticoð*. WS *ġeswugian* beside *ġeswigian* 'be silent' shows combinative back umlaut, see ibid.: §5.109(1), with /u/ extended analogically from the pret.pl. and some inflected forms of the pa.part., in which PGmc **ō* developed to OE *u*, see §6.108.[2]

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[1] Perhaps in origin a verb of class III, see §6.130.

[2] *Sweogian* shows normal back umlaut, probably as a non-WS variant, see Hogg (1992b: §5.109). On *sugian*, see Campbell (1977: §470); on *suwian*, see Brunner (1965: §214.8). The Angl verb has /iː/, as confirmed by poetic metre, e.g. Beo 2897 *Lȳt swīgode*; cf. OHG *swīgēn*. Why the WS vowel is short is unknown, see Flasdieck (1935: 49–50). The verb in origin belonged to class III, see §6.130.

6.115 A number of verbs of weak class II are formed with stem-final /ɣ/, especially verbs derived from adjectives in *-iġ*. The final consonant of the stem is velar rather than palatal in all forms, even before *-i-*, since /oː/ originally followed in all forms, e.g. **hailaʒōjan* > *hālgian*. Some of the relevant verbs are *dys(e)gian* 'act foolishly', *hālgian* 'hallow', *hef(e)gian* 'oppress', *her(e)gian* 'harry',[1] *hīgian* 'hasten', *met(e)gian* 'moderate', *ġemyndgian* 'remember', *sārgian* 'pain', *sċyldgian* 'render liable to punishment', *sorgian* 'lament',[2] *syngian* 'sin', *wel(e)gian* 'enrich', *wērgian* 'weary', *wītgian* 'prophesy'. Naturally, /k/ also remains velar, e.g. in *þancian* 'thank'.

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[1] On the difficult derivation of *hergian* from Gmc **xarjōjan*, see §6.118n2; and for forms with /j/ rather than /ɣ/, see §§6.106n1, 6.118n2.

[2] But of class III in origin, see §6.130.

6.116 Several verbs of this class show the effects of loss of intervocalic [h] and hiatus. Thus, inf. *smēaġan* 'consider' reflects NSGmc **smauxō-jan*, whilst pres.ind.3sg. *smēaþ* reflects **smauxō-þ*. The following EWS paradigm for *smēaġan* may be reconstructed on the basis of forms of this verb and *þrēaġan* 'afflict':

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	smēaġe	smēaġe	
2	smēast	smēaġe	smēa
3	smēað	smēaġe	
Pl.	smēaġað	smēaġen	smēaġað
Preterite			
Sg. 1	smēade	smēade	
2	smēadest	smēade	
3	smēade	smēade	
Pl.	smēadon	smēaden	
Infinitive	smēaġan		
Infl.inf.	to smēaġanne		
Pres.part.	smēaġende		
Pa.part.	smēad		

Thus, there were two stems within the OE paradigm, *smēaġ-* and *smēa-*, parallel to *lofi(ġ)-* and *lofa-/lofo-*, and in all dialects but Kt and the dialect of PsGl(A), the latter stem could be substituted for the former, leading to innovations like Bo 41.146.21 *smēan* pres.subj.pl., Li *smēas* pres.ind.pl., *smēande* pres.part. Only in Li *smēaġe*, Ru2 *smēoġe* imper.sg. do we see replacement of the latter stem by the former, if these are not in fact infinitives. In Angl the diphthong that developed from PGmc **au* was smoothed before loss of [h]; but in lNbr the diphthong of the alternative stem **smēa-* (or *smēo-* in Ru2, see Hogg 1992b: §5.44) was consistently levelled into the smoothed stem *smēġ-*. Late Kt has OccGl 20.18 to *smyāġenne* infl.inf. (see ibid.: §5.213) and 49.2 *smēġan* inf. (see ibid.: §5.119n1). Like *smēaġan* is *þrēaġan* (beside *þrēan*) 'afflict', to both of which analogical present stems *smēagian*, *þrēagian* were constructed.[1] Also like *smēaġan* is *hēan* 'exalt', to which no stem **hēaġan* is attested, just Bede 106.23 *hēan* inf. and OrW 43 *hēaþ* pres.ind.pl.;[2] also Bede 1 6.34.6 †*ġehēad* pa.part.[3] But since **hēaġan* would have been smoothed to *hēġan* in Angl, some forms of the weak verb *hēġan* of the first class may actually be forms of the verb of the second class, see §6.99. Re-formed in Nbr according to the pattern of *smēaġan* is the strong verb *ġefēaġa* 'rejoice' (§6.62), with the stems *fēaġ-, fēoġ-* and *fēa-*, *fēo-*, the diphthong of the latter having been levelled into the former, originally **fēġ-*. The stems are not distributed on an etymological basis, and whilst some forms can only be weak, e.g. pret. *ġefēade*, none must be regarded as strong, though some are technically ambiguous, e.g. pres.ind.3pl. *ġefēað*. A weak pres.ind.3sg. *ġefēaþ* also occurs in Ru1, and various weak forms appear in LWS Psalter glosses derived from Anglian originals, e.g. PsGl(I) *ġefēaġaþ* pres.pl., *ġefēade* pret.sg.

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[1] Cf. already in EWS GDPref and 4 (C) *to þrēagianne*. On the introduction of velar /ɣ/ into these forms whereas there had been no such sound anywhere in the paradigm, see §6.118.

[2] Brunner (1965: §408A17) cites a pret. *hēade* which we are unable to authenticate.

[3] The *DOE* text reads *ġehȳned* 'humbled', rendering Lat *sublimauit* 'exalted'; *ġehēad* is found among the manuscript variants (T. Miller, 1890–8: II, 16).

6.117 Like *smēaġan* is *twēoġan* 'doubt' but with *ēo* where *smēaġan* has *ēa*. It is to be derived from **twioxō-jan*, with pres.ind.3sg. *twēoð* < **twioxō-þ*, and thus the former stem corresponds to smoothed Angl *twīġ-* < **twihēj-*, whilst the latter may be *twēo-*, *twīo-* or *twīa-*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.44). In the Ru2 pret., the distinction between *twīade* < **twihadǣ* and *twīodun* < **twihudun* is maintained; cf. Ru1 *ġetwīodestu*. Like *twēoġan* is fragmentarily attested **tēoġan* 'arrange' < **tioxōjan*, not found in WS except in texts that show Angl influence.[1] The stem without *ġ* is attested in pres.pl. Beo 2526 *ġetēoð*, pret. *tēode*, *tīode*, CædN *tiadæ* (< **tihadǣ*), pa.part. *ġetēod*; the stem with *ġ* is found only in Bede 4 29.366.24 †*to tēaġenne*, †*to tēġenne* infl.inf.[2]

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[1] Flasdieck (1935: 50–1, with references) and others would connect the attested forms of this verb with *tawian* 'prepare' (not *tāwian*: cf. ME *tauwen*, *tawe*, also Beo *gūð-*, *wīġ-ġetawum*, with *ă* confirmed by the metre), Got *taujan* 'make', *tēwa* 'order', but the phonology of this seems intractable. See also Brunner (1965: §415(e)).

[2] These forms are manuscript variants listed by T. Miller (1890–8: II, 444).

6.118 Also contracted after loss of [h] is WS *_sċ(e)ōġ(e)an_ ‘don shoes’, to which the attested forms are _sċeōġe_ pres.ind.1sg., _an-_, _on-_, _ġe-sċōġen_ pres.subj.pl., _-sċōd_ pa.part., _sċeō_ imper.sg., †_sċeōġeað_ imper.pl.[1] This reflects the stems *_skōxōj-_ and *_skōxō-_. In Nbr there occurs _ġe-_, _ġi-sċōed_ pa.part., with analogical _-ed_. In addition, in LWS there occur in LibSc and RegCGl forms like _sċeōgian_, _sċeōgiað_, _unsċeōgien_ in which <g> perhaps has the same hiatus-filling function as in the Ælfrician paradigm of _hēah_ ‘high’, see §4.26, after the analogical introduction of _-ia-_, _-ie-_ for etymological _-ġa-_, _-ġe-_. Such forms are then wholly parallel to _smēagian_, _þrēagian_, §6.116. The unappealing alternative is to suppose that */j/ was velarized before a back vowel, see Hogg (1992b: §7.29).[2] Of uncertain etymology, but inflected like _sċeōġean_, is *_bōġ(e)an_ ‘boast’,[3] to which the distinctive attested forms are Vain 28 _bōð_ pres.ind.3sg. and BenR 7.22.16 _bōde_ pret.3sg.; there also occur analogical BenRApp 138.29 _bōgie_ pres.subj.sg. and LibSc _bōgað_ pres.ind.pl.[4] Also of obscure origin is *_gōġ(e)an_ ‘lament’, to which the attested forms are Bede 1 16.88.17 _gōiende_ pres.part. and 16.88.15 _gōað_ pres.ind.3sg., analogical for *_gōð_: cf. corrupted _gǣð_, _gēþ_ amongst the manuscript variants (see T. Miller, 1890–8: II, 71).

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[1] In London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ii, as reported by Sweet (1871–2: 44).

[2] The alternative explanation is unappealing because the posited phonological rule would face many exceptions, e.g. _strēġan_, _ċīġan_, _hnǣġan_. Without such a phonological rule, the chief difficulty as regards weak class II is how to explain _hergian_ ‘harry’ < Gmc *_xarjōjan_. Perhaps this is simply a matter of dissimilation, cf. §6.93n3, rendered plausible by the fact that /j/ still alternated with /ɣ/ in lOE, e.g. in adjectives in _-iġ_. It may be then that Or _herġean_, _herġeade_, _ġeherġead_, etc., represents the undissimilated stem.

[3] There are no known Gmc cognates. The word has been derived from PGmc *_bōjanan_, see Orel (2003: 51), with references, on the basis of the assumption that it contains the same stem as Lat *_fōr_ ‘I speak’ < *_fā-y-ōr_, cf. Grk _φη-μί_ ‘I speak’. This leaves the unumlauted root vowel unexplained.

[4] Brunner (1965: §415(a)) and Campbell (1977: §761(7)) regard the last as analogous to the unattested alternative stem *_bōġ-_, and Campbell even sees the same stem in <bogie>, though surely <g> must represent a velar consonant before <i>. Rather, since _bōgað_ occurs in the same text as _sċeōgiað_ above, most likely it and _bōgie_ have the same explanation, i.e. with <g> introduced into the analogically induced hiatus.

6.119 Vowel contraction also occurred in stems that had PGmc *_-ij-_ before *_-ō-_, since /j/ was lost, with compensatory lengthening, see Hogg (1992b: §7.70), followed by loss of hiatus. The PGmc stem *_frij-ōj-_ ‘liberate, love’ thus produced Pre-OE *_frī-ōj-_, which then developed to *_frī-ej-_ > *_frī-ij-_ (ibid.: §6.52) > _frīġ-_, whilst the alternative stem without /j/ after /oː/, *_frij-ō-_, developed to *_frī-ō-_ > WS _frīo-_, _frēo-_. In WS, the diphthong of the latter stem was levelled into the former, producing a paradigm like that of _twēoġan_, with inf. _frēoġan_, pret.sg. _frēode_; Ru1 similarly has pres.subj.sg. _ġefrēoġe_ as the sole recorded form to this verb in this text. In PsGl(A) the original distinction between the two stems is maintained, hence pres.ind.1sg.

ġefrīġu, 2sg. *ġefrēos*, 3sg. *ġefrēað*, *ġefrēoð*, *ġefrīoð*, pl. *ġefrīġað*, pret.3sg. *ġefrēode*, *ġefrēade*, *ġefrīode*, *ġefrēde*, imper.sg. *ġefrēa*, *ġefrīa*, etc. The mixture of spellings with <ea, eo, io> in the alternative stem suggests that contraction must have been early, before *-ad-* was generalized as the Angl dental suffix of the pret. and pa.part. In Nbr there is similarly much interchange of diphthongs that are otherwise generally kept discrete in that dialect, see ibid.: §5.138, e.g. Ru2 *ġifrīað*, *ġefrīoð* pres.ind.3sg., *ġifrīad*, *ġifrīode* pa.part. But in some instances the present stem has been generalized as *frī-*, to which inflexions of the first weak class are added, hence DurRitGl *frīa* pres.ind.1sg., *ġifrīe* pres.subj.sg., Li *frīende* pres.part. Probably constructed the same way is *ġefrīeġa* inf.[1] Compare also Li *frēweð* pres.ind.3sg., presumably representing **frēo-eð*, and cf. comparable *ġefrēouad* pa.part. In Li the stem *frīġ-*, may be used the same way as *frī-*, hence *ġefrīġeð* pres.ind.3sg., *ġefrīġ* imper.sg., and it is even found once in the preterite, hence *ġefrīġade*. Like *frēoġan* is non-Ælfrician *fēoġan* 'hate' < **fijōjan*,[2] except that the forms in PsGl(A) are not as regular. Ru1 keeps the two stems distinct, but in addition to etymological forms PsGl(A) has analogical *fīað* pres.ind.pl. beside regular *fīġað*, and analogical prets. *fīede*, *fīedon* beside etymological *fīode*, *fīodon*, etc., with *-að* and *-ed-* by analogy to class I. The stem variants in Nbr resemble those for *frēoġan*.

6.120 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, weak verbs of class II include *andswarian* 'answer', *tācnian* 'represent', *wunian* 'remain',[1] *clypian* 'call', *lufian* 'love', *blētsian* 'bless', *hālgian* 'sanctify', *blissian* 'rejoice', *dafenian* 'befit', *rīxian* 'rule', *earnian* 'merit' and their derivates. In addition to these and the verbs listed in §§6.106–19, and excluding verbs transferred from weak classes I and III, some relatively common verbs in this very large class are the following: *acsian*, *ascian* 'ask', *bodian* 'announce', *ċēapian* 'bargain',[2] *ċeorian* 'lament', *costian* 'tempt', *cunnian* 'test',[1] *dwolian* 'err', *eahtian* 'esteem', *eardian* 'dwell', *endian* 'end', *fandian* 'test', *fundian* 'attempt', *ġearwian* 'prepare', *grāpian* 'grasp', *behōfian* 'behove', *holian* 'hollow out', *hopian* 'hope',[3] *hwearfian* 'turn', *laðian* 'invite', *lēanian* 'lend', *līcian* 'please',[1] *loccian* 'entice', *lōcian* 'look', *lofian* 'praise', *macian* 'make',[4] *manian* 'warn', *meldian* 'inform', *offrian* 'sacrifice', *samnian* 'assemble', *sċ(e)amian* 'shame',[1] *sċēawian* 'observe', *teohhian* 'determine', *þaccian* 'clap', *þafian* 'allow',

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[1] Campbell (1977: §765) suggests that the spelling with <e> may be archaic, representing a stage before /e/ was raised before the following /j/, or that **frī-eġ-* did not develop to *frīġ-*, and spellings without <e> actually represent a verb stem of weak class III. Cognates show that the latter explanation is unlikely to be correct: see Orel (2003: 114). It is more likely that this is simply another instance of the use of a stem *frī-* with an analogically introduced ending: cf. how *-iġ-* also takes the form *-eġ-* in Li *fāgeġas* pres.ind.3pl., *āgneġe*, *cunneġe*, *ġesyngeġe* infs., etc.

[2] Probably originally to class III, see §6.130.

þancian ‘thank’, *wandrian* ‘wander’, *warian* ‘beware’, *wealwian* ‘roll’, *weorðian* ‘honour’, *wincian* ‘blink’, *wīsian* ‘guide’, *wuldrian* ‘glorify’, *wundian* ‘wound’, *wundrian* ‘be amazed’, amongst many others. A few recognizable suffixes were used to form verbs of this class. Verbs derived from adjectives in *-iġ* were listed above, see §6.115; some other particular groups are these:

(i) verbs in *-(e)cian*, including *bedecian* ‘beg’ (cf. *biddan* ‘ask’), *astȳfecian* ‘suppress’, *aswefecian* ‘extirpate’, *elcian* ‘delay’ (cf. CP (C) 33.220.8 *ieldcað*), *ġearcian* ‘prepare’ (cf. *ġearo* ‘ready’);
(ii) verbs in *-(e)nian*, including *ġedafenian* ‘befit’ (cf. *ġedēfe* ‘fitting’), *fæġ(e)nian* ‘rejoice’ (cf. *fæġe* ‘popular’),[5] *fæstnian* ‘fasten’ (cf. *fæst* ‘firm’), *hafenian* ‘hold’ (cf. *habban* ‘have’), *lācnian* ‘heal’ (cf. *lǣċe* ‘doctor’), *op(e)nian* ‘open’ (cf. *upp* ‘up’), *war(e)nian* ‘warn’ (cf. *warian* ‘beware’), *wilnian* ‘desire’ (cf. *willa* ‘desire’), *wītnian* ‘punish’ (cf. *wīte* ‘punishment’);
(iii) verbs in *-(e)sian*,[6] including *blētsian* ‘bless’, *blīðsian*, *blissian* ‘rejoice’, *clǣnsian* ‘cleanse’, *ef(e)sian* ‘clip’, *eġ(e)sian* ‘threaten’, *feorsian* ‘expel’ *ġītsian* ‘covet’, *grimsian* ‘rage’, *behrēowsian* ‘repent’, WS *mǣrsian* ‘glorify’, *miltsian* ‘pity’, *rīcsian*, *rīxian* ‘rule’, *unrōtsian* ‘worry’, *untrēowsian* ‘disbelieve’, *yrsian* ‘rage’.

On the transferral of verbs from class I to class II, see §6.80 in regard to verbs like *nerian*, §6.88 in regard to verbs like *lemian*, §6.96 in regard to verbs like *timbrian*. On the transferral of verbs of class III to class II, see §§6.129–30.

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[1] In origin a verb of class III, see §6.130.

[2] Perhaps originally to class III, see §6.130.

[3] Probably a relatively late addition to the vocabulary rather than an exclusively WS word: see Fulk (1992: §367&n147).

[4] Very rare in Angl., cf. LkHeadGl (Li) 26 *ġemacade ł ġemacað*. See Kuhn (1986).

[5] Apparently a West Saxon word: see Wenisch (1985).

[6] On these verbs in *-sian*, see Hallander (1966).

3 *Weak class III*

6.121 Verbs of the third weak class in Germanic are in origin structurally parallel to those of the second weak class, but with PGmc **-ǣ-* (PIE **-ē-*) rather than **-ō-* as the stem formative. They are thus of the type Lat *sedēre* ‘sit’ of the second conjugation. Presumably, the present stem was formed by adding PIE **-y-* + inflexion to the stem in **-ē-*, but precisely how the present paradigms in the various Gmc languages are to be derived this way is a matter of intense debate.[1] The preterite, too, presents problems, since we should expect the pret. stem to have been formed with PGmc **-ǣ-*, to which the dental suffix was added directly, as in the parallel instance of weak class II; but the pret. in NSGmc shows no trace of this posited **-ǣ-*.

In WGmc, at least, extensive analogical re-formation appears to be the best explanation for the attested forms. Certainly, in OHG, verbs of this class have been re-formed so that the stem ends in *-ē-* in all forms, parallel to verbs of class II, in which the formative is *-ō-* in all forms.[2]

[1] Prokosch (1939: §§54g, 67g), Dishington (1976, 1978) and Shields (1988) make unpersuasive cases for non-analogical origins of the alternations in the present stem; for an opposing view, see Jasanoff (1973). Flasdieck (1935) offers extensive bibliographical coverage of the earlier literature. On the earlier history of the type in Germanic, see Kortlandt (1990).

[2] For an enlightening discussion of forms outside of WGmc, see Bennett (1962).

(a) Inflexions

6.122 There are just four verbs in OE that may be said extensively to represent inflexion according to weak class III. These are WS *habban* 'have', *libban* 'live', *seċġ(e)an* 'say', *hyċġ(e)an* 'think', as illustrated by the following EWS paradigms:

		Present Indicative		
Sg. 1	hæbbe	libbe	seċġe	hyċġe
2	hæfst	leofast	sæġst	hyġst
3	hæfð	leofað	sæġð	hyġð
Pl.	habbað	libbað	seċġað	hyċġað
		Present Subjunctive		
Sg.	hæbbe	libbe	seċġe	hyċġe
Pl.	hæbben	libben	seċġen	hyċġen
		Imperative		
Sg.	hafa	leofa	sæġe	hyġe
Pl.	habbað	libbað	seċġað	hyċġað
		Preterite Indicative		
Sg. 1	hæfde	lifde	sæġde	hogde
2	hæfdest	lifdest	sæġdest	hogdest
3	hæfde	lifde	sæġde	hogde
Pl.	hæfdon	lifdon	sæġdon	hogdon
		Preterite Subjunctive		
Sg.	hæfde	lifde	sæġde	hogde
Pl.	hæfden	lifden	sæġden	hogden
Infinitive	habban	libban	seċġan	hyċġan
Infl.inf.	to habbanne	to libbanne	to seċġanne	to hyċġanne
Pres.part.	hæbbende	libbende	seċġende	hyċġende
Pa.part.	hæfd	lifd	sæġd	-hogd[1]

In the inflected infinitive, *-anne* is generally commoner in this class than *-enne*. In *habban*, the stem *habb-* is very frequent for *hæbb-* in LWS; the reverse substitution occurs much less frequently. Forms of *habban* with gemination must have contained **-j-*, and the absence of umlaut is thus unexpected. Very likely *æ* was levelled from the preterite into the present, where it could then develop to *a* before a back vowel, as argued by Bammesberger (1992b). *Habban* has an alternative pa.part., Bede 5 19.469.6 *hæfed*, in the Cambridge manuscript, and the same stem appears in the pret. several times in Sol I, once in Solil 2, and once in ArPrGl 1 as a pa.part. Likewise, the derivative *forhabban* 'refrain' has a form Dan 147 *forhæfed* pa.part. (cf. the usual pret. *forhæfde*), and the very frequent nominal *forhæfedness* 'temperance' evidences this alternative participial form, as do the nouns *behæfedness*, *nēdbehæfedness*. But *forhæfdness* is commoner, and it may be that the stem *hæfed-* originates in the noun, where the unusual consonant cluster *-fdn-* perhaps led to epenthesis. In *libban*, the vowel /i/ is sometimes extended to all forms of the present in LWS. Also in LWS, the preterite has extensively been re-formed using the stem *leofod-*, consistently in Ælfric, as if to a verb of class II. In *seċġan*, the umlauted vowel /e/ is in LWS more often than not extended to forms of the present in which EWS has /æ/. In LWS and PsGl(A), the pret. stem of *hyċġan* is more commonly formed according to class II, hence *hogod-*, *hogad-*, and present forms based on *hogian* are common in both dialects, appearing already occasionally in EWS. Conversely, occasionally in LWS, especially in some of the Psalter glosses of Anglian origin (PsGl(D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K)), *forhyċġan* 'despise' has a pret. stem *forhyġ(e)d-*, *forhiġ(e)d-*. On the pret. and participial stem *sǣd-* in WS, see Hogg (1992b: §5.128).

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[1] PsGl(A) 118.141 *forhogd*, Bede 4 26.354.21 *forhogdre*, etc.

6.123 As with the strong verbs, plural verb endings are generally reduced to *-e* before pronouns of the first and second persons in WS, less regularly in Angl, see §6.7. Present and past participles are declined the same way as the corresponding participles of weak class I, see §§4.28–9.

6.124 There are notable inconsistencies amongst the paradigms presented in §6.122, particularly in regard to whether there is syncope in the pres.ind.2&3sg., whether and where umlaut is found in the verb root, and what the inflexion of the imper.sg. is. In reconstructing the NSGmc paradigms from which the OE paradigms develop, it is probably best to assume that in cases of such inconsistency, variation is due to analogical re-formation on the model of verbs of class I or II, and the forms least like those to be found in classes I and II are likeliest to be original. Accordingly, early NSGmc paradigms of the following sort may be reconstructed:

Present Indicative				
Sg. 1	*xavvjō	*liƀƀjō	*saȝȝjō*	*xuȝȝjō
2	*xavais	*liƀais	*saȝais	*xuȝais
3	*xavaiþ	*liƀaiþ	*saȝaiþ	*xuȝaiþ
Pl.	*xavvjaþ	*liƀƀjaþ	*saȝȝjaþ	*xuȝȝjaþ
Present Subjunctive				
Sg. 3	*xavvjai	*liƀƀjai	*saȝȝjai	*xuȝȝjai
Pl.	*xavvjain	*liƀƀjain	*saȝȝjain	*xuȝȝjain
Imperative				
Sg.	*xavai	*liƀai	*saȝai	*xuȝai
Pl.	*xavvjaþ	*liƀƀjaþ	*saȝȝjaþ	*xuȝȝjaþ
Preterite Indicative				
Sg. 1	*xavdǣ	*liƀdǣ	*saȝdǣ	*xuȝdǣ
2	*xavdǣs	*liƀdǣs	*saȝdǣs	*xuȝdǣs
3	*xavdǣ	*liƀdǣ	*saȝdǣ	*xuȝdǣ
Pl.	*xavdun	*liƀdun	*saȝdun	*xuȝdun
Preterite Subjunctive				
Sg. 3	*xavdī	*liƀdī	*saȝdī	*xuȝdī
Pl.	*xavdīn	*liƀdīn	*saȝdīn	*xuȝdīn
Infinitive	*xavvjan	*liƀƀjan	*saȝȝjan	*xuȝȝjan
Infl.inf.	*xavvjannjai	*liƀƀjannjai	*saȝȝjannjai	*xuȝȝjannjai
Pres.part.	*xavvjandī	*liƀƀjandī	*saȝȝjandī	*xuȝȝjandī
Pa.part.	*xavdaz	*liƀdaz	*saȝdaz	*xuȝdaz

In early PGmc there must have been an alternation between, e.g., pres.ind.1sg. **liƀǣjō*, 3sg. **liƀǣjiþ(i)*. If the analysis of the development of class II offered in §6.108 is correct, */j/ would have been lost in these, with subsequent vowel contraction. What the result would have been in the former is difficult to determine, but the resulting **-ǣi-* in the latter may plausibly be assumed to have produced NSGmc **-ai-* in **liƀaiþ*. Whatever the result was in the former stem, the stem formative was a vowel, not a diphthong, and so the same sort of paradigm allomorphy as in class II is to be assumed. Accordingly, just as in class II, inflexions with initial **-j-*, borrowed from heavy stems of class I, see §6.108, were substituted in NSGmc for the anomalous endings that had resulted from the contraction of **-ǣ-* plus vowel in PGmc. That is, the stem in NSGmc was perceived to be **liƀ-*, with endings in an initial long vowel in pres.ind.1sg., 3pl., inf., etc., and endings in **-ai-* in pres.ind.2&3sg. and imper.sg. To this stem the analogical inflexions with **-j-* were added in the same forms as in class II, but, also as in class II, the forms of the pres.ind.2&3sg. and imper.sg., those with **-ai-*, were left unaltered. It is to be assumed, then, that at this very early stage of NSGmc the WGmc rule of gemination was still productive, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.11–14), and this accounts for the forms with geminates in the above paradigms. This analysis also explains the preterite forms, since forms like pa.part. *hæfd*, *hogd* cannot be very ancient, as the consonant clusters in them are uncharacteristic of inheritances from very early times, cf. Prokosch (1939: §67g). That is, if such forms were old, we should expect ***sæhte*, ***ġehoht* rather than *sæġde*, *ġehogd*, on the evidence of *sōhte*, *ġeworht*, etc., see §6.100.[1,2] If the stem was analysed as **liƀ-*, and the present stem displayed no characteristic connecting vowel like *-*ō*- in class II, it may be assumed that forms like pret.sg. **liƀ-dǣ*, pa.part. **liƀ-daz* arose relatively late, i.e. in NSGmc, replacing earlier forms in which there was a vowel, the reflex of Gmc **-ǣ-*, before the dental suffix.

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[1] For this reason the evidence of occasional seeming relics like OHG *hapta* beside usual *habēta* is not particularly persuasive as regards the antiquity of preterites of this class without connecting vowel, though Campbell (1977: 342&n4) finds otherwise.

[2] Bammesberger (1985b, 1987) instead regards the stem **habd-* as quite old, and he reconstructs a PIE instrumental **kapH̥-*, to which forms of 'do' were attached in the preterite in Gmc, to account for the unusual development of the consonants.

6.125 Several analogical changes must be assumed to have intervened in the development of the NSGmc paradigms in §6.124 into the OE paradigms in §6.122. Umlaut should have applied to present forms with inflexions in **-j-* but not those in **-ai-*. The resulting allomorphy is preserved in *seċġan*, but the umlauted vowel was levelled away in *habban* (very likely to prevent neutralization with strong *hebban* 'raise') whilst, conversely, the umlauted vowel was extended throughout the present of *hyċġan*. In the present forms without **-j-*, **ai* should have developed to **ǣ* and then undergone shortening but not syncope. However, as in strong verbs and weak verbs of class I, syncope may be assumed to have applied in WS in the pres.ind.2&3sg. when a pronoun followed, and syncopated forms were then generalized to other syntactic environments in *habban*, *seċġan*, *hyċġan*, see §6.14. Syncope is to be expected in WS in light stems ending in non-sonorant consonants, see §6.12. The inflexions **-ais*, **-aiþ* cannot be reflected directly in *leofast*, *leofað*, since **ai* should not produce OE *a* in unstressed syllables; these endings must have been borrowed from class II, an unsurprising development in view of changes to this class discussed below, see §6.129.[1] Likewise, the endings of the imperatives *leofa*, *hafa* must have been borrowed from class II, whilst *sæġe*, *hyġe* may retain the original ending. Note that *leofast*, *leofað*, *leofa* show back umlaut.

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[1] OSax *libbian* 'live' likewise has pres.ind.3sg. *liƀod*, like a verb of class II, as opposed to *haƀed*, *haƀad*, to *hebbian*, *habbien* 'have'.

6.126 In Angl, and sometimes in poetry, the inflexion *-o*/*-u* is used in the pres.ind.1sg., see §6.11, except in Ru1, which has *sæċge*, *seċġe*. In Nbr, the stem to which this inflexion is attached is without gemination, hence Li *hafo*, *liofo*, *sæġo*. In the pres.ind.2&3sg. there is no syncope in Angl, hence, in the 2sg., PsGl(A) *hafast*, *asagas*, Ru1 *hæfest*, *sæġest*, Li *hæfes*, *liofað*, *lifeð*, *sæġes*, *forhogas*, etc. Of these, the forms in PsGl(A), in addition to which there occur 3sg. *hafað*, *forhogað*, show substitution of endings from class II, although there also occurs 3sg. *seġeð*. Similar substitution has applied to *hyċġan* in Nbr.[1] Unsyncopated forms like *hæfest*, *sæġeð*, *seġeð*, *hyġeþ* occur in LWS only in texts showing other Angl features or, rarely, in late copies of Ælfrician material, e.g. ÆHomM 1 (Bel 9) 71 *hæfeð*, ÆHom 14.86 *sæġeð*.

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[1] Also in Nbr, the stem of the pres.pl. may appear alternatively in the 3sg., hence Ru2 *sæċġað*, Li *forhyċġað* and, conversely, Li *saeġas* pl.

(b) Stems

6.127 The stem *libb-* is native to WS, whereas in eKt[1] and Angl the stem lacks gemination, taking the form *lifġ-*, *lifi(ġ)-*. This cannot be simply a matter of re-formation of the verb so as to belong to class II, since the spelling with non-syllabic *ġ* is too common, especially in PsGl(A), in which a careful distinction is drawn between, e.g., class I *herġan* and class II *lufian* by the use of <g> and <i>. It would appear that *lifġ-* is an alternative development of NSGmc **liƀj-*, in which gemination failed. This seems to confirm the assumption that the stem **liƀj-* is a NSGmc innovation, formed at a time when the WGmc rule of gemination was losing its operationality, with the result that gemination is not found in all dialects. The stem *lifġ-* is also poetic, and it appears in LWS texts that display other Angl features, as well as rarely in EWS, under Merc influence, thus CP 5.43.22 *lifiendan*, ChronA 718 *lifġendum*. It also appears in Ælfrician and other LWS homiletic texts only in deific formulas of the type *ðām lifiġendan drihtne*, *his lifiġendan fæder*, etc. The artificial, literary nature of this usage is confirmed by the observation that in such texts the stem is never spelt *lifġ-*, always *lifiġ-* or *lifi-*. An analogical stem *leofi-*, with the diphthong proper to the stem without *-i-*, occurs in the Blickling Homilies and in Nic (C).

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[1] Cf. Ch 1200 (HarmD 7) 6 *lifiġe*; also Ch 1197 (HarmD 4) 18 *an Godes libġendes naman*, with non-syllabic <g>: cf. the discussion of the formula below. There also occur participles *lifġende*, *lifi(ġ)ende* in KtPs.

6.128 There is a negated form *nabban* 'not have' parallel in its forms to *habban*, as a result of contraction of *ne* + *habban*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.152). In Angl, uncontracted constructions of *ne* followed by forms of *habban* are not infrequent, though the contracted forms still predominate. In WS, on the other hand, uncontracted forms are vanishingly rare.[1] That the contracted form has been morphologized is demonstrated by Bo 20.36 †*ġenæfd* pa.part.[2]

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[1] For discussion of origins and distribution, with references, see Fulk (1992: §§147–55), and Jack (1999). On problems associated with identifying the dialect range of contraction, see Hogg (2004).

[2] Only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180, of the early twelfth century, as reported by Godden and Irvine (2009: I, 268.40).

6.129 The verbs *habban*, *libban*, *seċġan*, *hyċġan* are all amongst the 100 verbs most frequently encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5. As cognates demonstrate, however, this class once included many more verbs. Whilst most forms of these other verbs have adopted the inflexional patterns of class I and, especially, class II, a few older forms survive from the original class III paradigms, listed in §6.130.[1] The telltale signs of original inflexion according to class III are these: (a) co-occurrence of forms with and without umlaut; (b) co-occurrrence of forms with and without gemination; (c) syncope before the dental preterite suffix in light-stemmed verbs and in verbs otherwise inflected in accordance with class II; (d) spellings with *-ġ-* instead of *-i-* or *-iġ-* in verbs that otherwise appear to be of class II.[2,3] None of these features is infallible as an indicator of origins in class III. In regard to feature (a), Li *ym(b)sċēawde* exemplifies a verb of class II given a preterite form like a verb of class III, see §6.113. As regards feature (b), authentic verbs of class II are occasionally spelt with *-ġ-* rather than *-i(ġ)-* in the present stem, see §6.106n2. Features (c) and (d) may indicate nothing more than verbs of classes I and II formed from the same PIE root, e.g. *tellan* alongside *talian*, both ‘count’. Moreover, feature (d) is unreliable in connexion with Anglian inflected infinitives and present participles of light-stemmed verbs, in which *-i-* should have been syncopated, see §6.112.[4] It is therefore expedient, when possible, to compare cognates before assuming origins in class III. Gothic weak verbs in *-an* (as opposed to *-jan*, *-ōn*, *-nan*) and OHG verbs in *-ēn* are particularly diagnostic. There is also evidence for transferral of some of these verbs between weak classes in Old Saxon, see Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

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[1] This pattern of defection must date to the NSGmc period, as in OSax only the cognates of *habban*, *libban*, *seċġan* are regularly inflected according to class III, with a few relic forms of other verbs. In OFris only the cognate of *habban* retains marks of class III inflexion. Many more verbs of class III appear in OHG.

[2] Brunner (1965: §417A11) includes amongst the signs of class III membership alternation between *æ* and *a* in the root syllable, but, as his examples illustrate, it is only in conjunction with other features that this can be seen to have significance. See the discussion of *plegian* and *sparian* in §6.130 below.

[3] Brunner (1965: §417A6) rightly remarks that *-e* in the imper.sg. of verbs of class II ought to be a sign of origins in class III; cf. *sæġe*, *hyġe*. But we have not noticed

many examples in texts in which there is not much confusion of unstressed final vowels, as especially is the case in lNbr. However, *-e* (9×; once *-æ*) is nearly as common as *-a* (13×) in verbs of class II in Ru1, whilst class III has only *-e* (4×), -Ø (1×), according to Brown (1891–2: II, §29). Yet some of the verbs with *-e* in Ru1 plainly cannot have originated in class III, e.g. *fultumian*, *miltsian*. The same problem of insecure unstressed vocalism attends the inflexions *-est*, *-eð* in the pres.ind.2&3sg., cf. Campbell (1977: §766).

[4] This eliminates from consideration forms like HomS 17 (BlHom 5) 106 *bifġendan* pres.part., MtGl (Ru) 8.14 *bifġende* to *bifian* 'tremble'; CorpGl 2 13.272 *ġeonġendi* pres.part. to *ġinian* 'yawn'; CorpGl 2 9.207 *wiðerhlinġende*, GuthB 1147 *hlinġendne*, Li *hlinġende*, etc. to *hlinian* 'lean'; CorpGl 2 4.64 *seobġendum* pres.part. to *seofian* 'lament'; and others. But there is sometimes other evidence in regard to these verbs, see §6.130.

6.130 Verbs that display one or more of the features listed in §6.129 as indicating likely original inflexion according to class III are the following, with the relevant forms cited:

bism(e)rian 'mock': MtGl (Li) 27.41 *bismerdon* pret.pl., but cf. §6.96 concerning Nbr *timberde*.

būan 'settle': The Nbr form is umlauted *bȳa*, and the WS pret. *būde* lacks umlaut. Cf. Got *baúan* (class III), but see also §6.72n1.

ċēapian 'bargain': Cf. LWS *ċȳpan*. Gothic has only *káupōn*, OHG only *koufen*, and ON *kaupa* has irregular pret. *keypta*. But this may be simply a matter of co-occurrence of PGmc **kaupjanan* and **kaupōjanan*, as Orel (2003: 211) assumes.

drūgian 'become dry': MtGl (Li) 21.20 *drūgde* pret.3sg.; also umlauted forms, e.g. Li *drȳġeð*; but the umlaut could be due to confusion with *drȳġan* 'cause to become dry'.

fetian 'fetch': WS has frequent forms from the stem *feċċ-*, from earlier **fetġ-*, see Hogg (1992b: §7.33), along with stem *fett-* in pret. and pa.part. There are also unumlauted forms: Sat 519 *ġefatian* inf., LkGl (Li) 20.35 *fatas* pres.ind.3pl., HomU 36.25 *fatiġe* pres.subj.sg.

folgian 'follow': Parallel to this is class I *fylġan*. Campbell (1977: §763n4) regards this as an example of independent construction of verbs of classes I and II from different forms of a single PIE root, but cf. OHG *folgēn*. OSax *folgan* similarly shows signs of transferral, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

ġiwian 'ask': DurRitGl *ġivġað* pres.ind.pl., LkGl (Li) 19.23 *ġiuġe* inf., MkGl (Li) 6.24 *ġiuġe* pres.ind.1sg., pret. Li *ġiude* (3×). Brunner (1965: §417A12(b)) compares OHG *giwēn*, which appears once in Bavarian, beside usual *gewōn* 'gape'.

hatian 'hate': cf. the derivatives *hettend* 'enemy' (in poetry) and *onhetting* 'persecution'. Cf. Got *hatan* (but also *hatjan*). In OSax there is also evidence of transferral, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

hlinian 'lean': CorpGl 2 9.416 *onhlinġo* pres.ind.1sg. Cf. OHG *hlinēn*.

lēoran 'depart': The word is more often than not spelt with <io> in Nbr, probably umlauted, see Hogg (1992b: §5.84).

leornian 'learn': Frequently spelt with <io> in Li, probably umlauted, see ibid.: §5.84; also CP 27.187.17 *ġeliornġen*. Cf. OFris *lerna*, *lirna*, OHG *lernēn*, *lirnēn*.

losian 'perish': DurRitGl 1 41.1 *loesia* inf., Ru2 *loesġa* inf., *loesġe* pres.ind.1sg., etc. Transitive *losian* 'destroy' similarly shows forms with umlaut and/or *-iġ-*, e.g. Ru2 *loesiġa* inf.

murnan 'mourn': And 37 *murndan* pret.pl. Cf. Got *maúrnan*, OHG *mornēn*. OSax *mornan* likewise shows signs of transferral, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1). Cf. §6.52 on strong forms, which are probably the result of the virtual elimination of class III.

plegian 'move rapidly': MtMarg(Ru) 11.17 *plagadun*, PsGl(A) *plægiað*, *plægiendra* (with second fronting, Hogg, 1992b: §5.89), Li *plægade*, etc., beside class I *plegan*; see also §6.106n1. On strong forms in the pres., see §6.64. The creation of strong forms is understandable, given that *plegan* is anomalous as a stem of class I: cf., e.g. *weċġan*, pret. *weġede*.

onsċunian 'shun': PsGl(A) 106.10 *onsċynedun* pret.pl. Nbr forms like DurRitGl 1 50.2 *onsċynia* are indecisive because of palatalization, see ibid.: §5.68.

rūmian 'become clear of obstructions': cf. *rȳman* 'clear'. OSax *rūm(i)an* also presents evidence of transferral (pret. *rūmde*).

sorgian 'sorrow': EpGl 81 *soęrgęndi* shows umlaut, as does Orm's *serrȝhenn* and occasional ME *ser(e)wen*. Cf. Got *saúrgan*, OHG *sorgēn*. OSax *sorgan* likewise show evidence of transferral, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

andspurnian 'offend': Nbr *ondspurniġa* has many forms with umlaut, e.g. Li *onspyrnað* pres.3sg., *ondspyrnende* pres.part. But this could be due to the influence of ON *spyrna*, or OE *spyrnan* 'stumble'.

swigian 'be silent': Li, Ru2, Mart 2, Mart 5.1, PsGl(H, J) *swīġde*, *oðswīġde*, *ġeswīġdon*, etc. See §6.114&n2 on the vowel quantity and other matters. Cf. OHG *swīgēn*.

tilian 'cultivate': CP and poetry, etc., show a stem in *tilġ-* outside of the infl.inf. and pres.part. Cf. OHG *zilēn*, *zilōn*, but Got only *ga-tilōn*.

truwian, *trugian* 'trust':[1] CP 65.463.23 *fortruwdes*, JnGl (Ru) 2.24 *ġitryġade*. Cf. Got *trauan* (class III),[2] OHG *trūēn*; but cf. Flasdieck (1935: 53).

þē̆owian 'serve':[3] PsGl(A) *ðiwġen* pres.subj.pl., *ðēawde* pret.3sg., *ðēowdun* pl., Bede 5 9.408.25 *þeoġende* pres.part., *þē̆o(w)de* pret.sg., Ælfric *þēowde*. Cf. Got *ana-þiwan*.

þolian 'endure': DurRitGl 1 36.11 *ġiðoeliġa* pres.subj.pl., Ru2 *ġiðoelġas* pres.ind.3sg., *ġiðoeliġas* imper.pl., *ġiðoelġa* inf. Cf. Got *þulan*, OHG *dolēn*. OSax *tholian*, *tholon* likewise shows evidence of transferral, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

untrumian 'ail': Nbr forms usually have umlaut, e.g. Li *untrymade* pret.3sg., but cf. JnGl (Ru) 11.2 *untrumade*. But this may be due to the influence of the adj. *untrymiġ* 'infirm': note forms like pa.part. *ġeuntrumad* rather than ***unġetrumad*.

wacian 'keep vigil': Ru1, Nbr *wæċċa* inf., etc., poetic *wæċċende* pres.part. Cf. Got *wakan*, OHG *wahhēn*.

wīsian 'guide': Dan 35 *wīsde*.[4] Possibly the geminate in LWS *wissian* 'guide', beside usual *wīsian*, is to be explained on this basis. Cf. OHG *wīsēn* in Otfrid, beside usual *wīsōn*.

wunian 'remain': MtGl (Ru) 10.11 *wyniġaþ* imper.pl. Cf. Got *un-wunands* pres.part., OHG *wonēn*.

ȳwan 'show': The usual Angl form is unumlauted *ēawan*, pret. *ēawde* (beside -*ēawade*), which also occurs in EWS CP 28.195.18 †*ġeēawde*;[5] see §6.97n6. Cf. OHG *ougen* alongside Got *áugjan*, to class I.[6]

A few other verbs that possibly originated in class III may be mentioned. *Sparian* 'spare' has fronted /æ/, which would have appeared only if the following syllable did not contain a back vowel, in DurRitGl *spæria* inf. and other forms, whilst PsGl(A) *spearað* pres.ind.3sg. and similar forms show back umlaut of */æ/ due to a following back vowel. The alternation between front and back vowels in the second syllable is not to be expected in verbs of class II unless they have relic forms from class III. Cf. OHG *sparēn*. *Ġetrēowan* 'trust' has in Li, beside normal *ġetrēou*-, *ġetrīow*-, a stem *ġetrēw*-, and this could be due to the same sort of cause as in *lēoran* above.[7] The verbs *si(o)wian* 'sew' and *strēawian* 'strew' have alternative forms inflected according to class I, e.g. EpGl 563 *bisiuuidi* pa.part., Beo 2436 *strēd* pa.part., see §§6.97n4, 6.98, but there is no supporting comparative evidence. OE **dofian* is attested only by CorpGl 2 4.46 *dobġendi* 'in dotage' (*dobend*- in other glossaries), which is inconclusive on account of the Angl syncope of -*i*- in such forms, see §6.112; but cf. OHG *tobēn*. A number of other verbs can be identified as possibly having originated in class III on the basis of cognates alone:[8] *bealdian* 'be bold' (OHG *ir-baldēn*), *bifian* 'tremble' (OHG *bibēn*), *clifian* 'cleave' (OHG *klebēn*), *cunnian* 'test' (Got *ga-kunnan*), *ealdian* 'grow old' (OHG *altēn*), *earmian* 'pity' (Got *arman*), *fæstan* 'fast, hold firm' (Got *fastan*), non-Ælfrician *fēoġan* 'hate' (Got *fijan*; see §6.119),[9] *fūlian* 'rot' (OHG *fūlēn*), *ġinian* (OHG *ginēn*), *hangian* 'be hanging' (OHG *hangēn*), *holian* 'hollow out' (OHG *holēn*),[10] *līcian* 'please' (Got *leikan*), *sċ(e)amian* 'be ashamed' (Got *skaman*), *þearfian* 'be in need' (OHG *darbēn*), *bewitian* 'observe' (Got *witan*); perhaps also Nbr *clyniġa* 'wrap', cf. ON *klunna* 'cling'.

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[1] On the variation between <w> and <g>, cf. *suwian*, *sugian*, §6.114n2.

[2] For the vocalism, cf. Got *bauan* alongside OE *būan* 'settle', see §6.72, and compare the view of Orel (2003: 411).

[3] On the variable quantity in *þĕowian*, see Fulk (1992: §§162–9).

[4] The manuscript has <wisðe> for *wīsde*, probably indicating that the scribe did not understand *<wisde> in his exemplar. The metre is indecisive.

[5] The form in CP is reported by Sweet (1871–2) in London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.ii.

[6] The cognates, even as close as OSax *ōgan*, indicate derivation from the PGmc root **aug-*, as in OE *ēaġe* 'eye', though the early loss of */ɣ/ (see Hogg 1992b: §3.18n1) is difficult to explain. The hypothesis that the form is to be derived from an entirely different PGmc stem without */ɣ/ (see Flasdieck, 1935: 64, with references) is difficult to credit.

[7] So Sievers (1900: 35); cf. Flasdieck (1935: 49).

[8] Just one cognate is offered for each verb.

[9] But probably not *frēoġan* 'love'; cf. Got *frijōn*.

[10] The usual forms in OHG are *halōn*, *holōn*; the form *holēn* appears in Otfrid. The verb also shows evidence of transferral in OSax, according to Holthausen (1921: §466A1).

IV Preterite-present verbs

6.131 There existed in PGmc a small but mostly rather frequent group of verbs that were originally strong throughout the paradigm, but which for semantic reasons developed in such a way that their preterites came to be used in present contexts and thus came to be regarded as present forms.[1] For example, OE *wāt* pres.1sg. 'know' reflects PGmc **wait*, originally an unreduplicated perfect, having *o*-grade of the PIE root **wid-* reflected in reduced grade in Lat *video* 'I see'. That is, the sense 'I know' developed from the sense 'I have seen'.[2] That this semantic development is ancient is indicated by the fact that *wāt* has exact cognates with the same meaning, Grk *οἶδα*, Sanskrit *vḗda* < **woid-a*, indicating that the reduplicative syllable had already been lost by the time of late PIE.[3] The number of such verbs is larger in Gmc than in any other IE language family, and several of the relevant verbs must have been added to the class in PGmc. Another innovation of Gmc is the rise of a new set of preterites for such verbs, in part comparable to the preterites of weak verbs, formed by the addition of a dental suffix. This small class of verbs plays an outsize role in OE grammar (as the reflexes of several do in PDE) because some serve as auxiliaries (see Mitchell, 1985: §§990–1024), whilst others express basic concepts. It is a valid question whether there remained enough cohesion to this class of verbs in OE to justify their treatment as a separate class in a synchronic grammar.[4] But they are unified inasmuch as they are the only verbs (excepting, in part, the verb 'to be') bearing preterite inflexions in the present tense. That they were recognized as a class is also suggested by their ability to exert analogical influence on other anomalous verbs in relatively recent prehistory, for instance on *eart* (§6.150) in prehistoric WS and *wilt* (§6.161) in Anglo-Frisian. Disintegration of the class, however, is indicated by the incipient substitution, in present forms, of non-preterite endings in Nbr, see §6.134.

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[1] On the origin and development of the preterite-present verbs in Gmc, see Birkmann (1987), where, however, the OE developments receive little attention.

[2] For semasiological parallels, cf. Lat *meminī*, *nōvī*, *coepī*.

[3] There must originally have been reduplication in this verb, for reasons explained by Szemerényi (1996: 9.4.3(*b*)). This contradicts the account of Prokosch (1939: §65), who regards the lack of reduplication as an archaism.

[4] Colman (1992) reaches a negative conclusion to this question on the basis of certain unpredictable features, such as the form of the preterite in relation to the present and the form of the pres.ind.2sg.

1 *Inflexion and classes*

6.132 It is conventional in laying out the paradigms of such verbs to classify them according to the strong class to which each would have belonged if it had developed normally as a strong verb. The paradigms below are somewhat abbreviated, since many forms are entirely predictable. Thus, the subjunctive plural is regularly in *-en*, except insofar as this is replaced by *-on* in lOE, and by inflexions without final *-n* in Nbr and Ru1, see §6.23. Likewise, the endings of the pret.ind.2&3sg. are *-est*, *-e*, as in other weak preterites, and thus they are predictable from the 1sg. alone. When a space is left blank within a paradigm below, it should be assumed that the relevant form is unattested. Since some of these verbs do not have attested infinitives, being used only as auxiliaries, it is fairly conventional to cite as the dictionary form the pres.ind.1&3sg., e.g. *wāt* rather than *witan*, for all preterite-present verbs.

(a) Classes 1 and 2

6.133 With vocalism in the present in LWS like a preterite of strong class 1 is *wāt* 'know'; like a preterite of strong class 2 is *dēag* 'avail':

	Present Indicative	
Sg. 1	wāt	
2	wāst	
3	wāt	dēag, dēah
Pl.	witon	dugon
	Present Subjunctive	
Sg.	wite	duge, dyġe[1]
	Imperative	
Sg.	wite	
Pl.	witað	

	Preterite Indicative	
Sg. 3	wiste, wisse	dohte
Pl.	wiston, wisson	dohton
	Preterite Subjunctive	
Sg.	wiste, wisse	dohte
Infinitive	witan	dugan[2]
Infl.inf.	to witanne	
Pres.part.	witende	dugende
Pa.part.	witen	

The verb *āh* 'possess' is usually classified as of the class 1 type, but it is better treated as being of the class 7 type, see §6.140.

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[1] *Dyġe* occurs Bo 38.123.18, Lch I (Herb) 2.15.

[2] RevMon (Whitelock) 274. The editor has supplied *-an* in a damaged passage.

6.134 In regard to *wāt* (a): 2sg. *wāst* for expected **wās* < **wait-t(a)* is formed analogically by the re-addition of *-t*, but at an early date, cf. Got *wáist*.[1] We should expect the imperative singular to have been formed with PIE **-e*, which would have been lost in Gmc. Imperatives in OE *-e* are thus subjunctives in form; LiEpis 22 *ġewit* (beside Li *witte*), comparable to ON *vit*, is therefore to be regarded as more original than LWS *wite*. In the pret. of *wāt*, forms with *-st-* are more frequent than those with *-ss-* already in EWS, except in Bo, although *-ss-* is the older form, reflecting PGmc **-tt-*, see Prokosch (1939: §29a). *Wiste* was created analogically by the re-addition of a dental preterite suffix at a later date; such forms are found in the all the WGmc languages. Pa.part. *witen* is formed by analogy to strong verbs; the expected **wiss* < **wit-taz* < PIE **wid-tos* has been re-lexicalized as a common adjective *ġewiss* 'certain'. In the inflected infinitive, Ælfric has only *-enne*, whilst EWS has only *-anne* except CP 15.93.25 *to witenne* (2×). There also occur negated forms to *wāt* showing contraction, e.g. *nāt*, *nyton*, *nyste*, etc., see Hogg (1992b: §5.152). There are the expected phonological variants of *wāt*, e.g., with back umlaut (ibid.: §5.104(2)) Merc *weotun* pres.pl., *weotað* imper.pl., with combinative back umlaut (ibid.: §5.109(3)) Nbr *wuton*, *tō wuttanne*, etc. On spellings like EWS *wietan*, *wieton*, *ġewietene* in CP, see ibid.: §5.165.[2] In Nbr are also to be found forms bearing inflexions like those of strong presents, e.g. pl. *wutas*, *wutað*, *witteð*. In regard to *dēag* (b): The form *dēah* shows final devoicing of /ɣ/, see ibid.: §§7.59ff., and cf. Got *dáug*. Rare umlaut in the subj. *dyġe* shows that the subjunctive inflexion reflects PGmc pret. **-ī(þ)* rather than pres. **-ai(þ)*. The only attested Angl form of this verb is Li *dēg* pres.ind.3sg.

[1] See Bammesberger (1990b: 281–5), responding to the proposal of Sihler (1986) that **waist* could be the phonologically regular development of **wait-t(a)*.

[2] The frequency of such spellings, however, is striking and suggests an actual phonological basis. Brunner (1965: §22A3) argues for rounding after /w/ under low stress.

(b) Class 3

6.135 With vocalism in the present in LWS like preterites of strong class 3 are *an(n)* 'grant', *can(n)* 'know (how)', *þearf* 'need', *dear(r)* 'dare':

		Present Indicative		
Sg. 1	ann	cann	þearf	dear
2		canst	þearft	dearst
3	ann	cann	þearf	dear
Pl.	unnon	cunnon	þurfon	durron
		Present Subjunctive		
Sg.	unne	cunne	þurfe, þyrfe	durre, dyrre
		Imperative		
Sg.	ġeunne			
		Preterite Indicative		
Sg. 3	ūðe	cūðe	þorfte	dorste
Pl.	ūðon	cūðon	þorfton	dorston
		Preterite Subjunctive		
Sg.	ūðe	cūðe	þorfte	dorste
Infinitive	unnan	cunnan	þurfan	
Infl.inf.		to cunnanne		
Pres.part.	unnende	cunnende	þearfende[1]	
Pa.part.	unnen	-cunnen		

No imperative forms are attested in the plural. *An(n)* and *can(n)* may be *on(n)* and *con(n)* in EWS and Angl. As with *wāt*, §6.134, Ru1 and Nbr have occasional by-forms with the endings of strong presents, e.g. Ru1 *cunnað*, *cunneþ* pres.pl., Li *ðorfæð* 3sg., *ðofeð* (sic) 3pl. As regards umlaut in pres.subj. *þyrfe*, *dyrre*, see the discussion of *dyġe*, §6.134.

[1] Often substantivized, with an alternative substantive form LibSc 29.7 *beþurfendra*, MtGl (Ru) 5.3 *þurfende*. There also occurs a stem *(be)þyrfend-* (4× in glosses) both as participle and substantive. As might be expected from what is said below, §6.136, the pres.part. may be *ðorfende* in Ru1 and Nbr. OE *þearfende* appears to be an innovation: cf. ON *þurfandi*, Got *þaúrbands*. One would expect *þurfende* to be more original, since all other non-finite forms of pret.-pres. verbs have the stem of the pres.pl.

6.136 In regard to *ann* (a): beside imper.sg. *unne*, a subjunctive in origin, like *wite*, see §6.134, there is more original LWS *ġeunn*, beside DurRitGl *ġionn* (39×), *ġeonn* (1×), the Nbr forms showing substitution of the pres.sg. stem *-onn* (= LWS *ann*, Hogg 1992b: §5.5) for *-unn*. In Angl the verb is attested only in Li and DurRitGl.[1] In regard to *cann* (b):[2] pres.ind.2sg. *canst* cannot be any very old formation, as NSGmc **kanst* should have developed to OE **cōst*, see ibid.: §3.14. The original form must have been **kant*, see §6.142(b).[3] The older pa.part. *cūð* is used as a common adjective meaning 'known'. In regard to *þearf* (c):[4] the Nbr stem is *ðorf-*, presumably influenced by the vocalism of the pret.; but cf. MtGl (Li) 26.65 *ðurfu* pres.pl. Ru1 likewise has *þorfende* beside the usual stem *þurf-*. There also occur in Nbr present forms with strong present inflexions, Ru2 *(bi)ðorfeð* (also pl.?), Li *ðorfæð*, pl. *beðorfeð* beside *ðurfu*. In regard to *dearr* (d): pres.ind.2sg. *dearst* does not have an analogical ending, like *canst*, but is an archaic form, since the stem originally alternated **dars-* ~ **durz-* under Verner's Law; cf. Got *ga-dars*, *ga-daúrsum*, and see Bammesberger (1998b: 16). Hence also the *-s-* in the preterite. Li has 3sg. *darr*, as if subject to combinative breaking, see Hogg (1992b: §5.29), but more likely by analogy to Li, Ru2 *darste* pret., see ibid.: §5.34. Ru1 has only pret. *durste*, *dyrste*; the manuscript has *dyste* for the latter. The earlier form *dorstæ* appears on the Ruthwell Cross. The verb is not found in PsGl(A).

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[1] On the etymology, see Bammesberger (1998b).

[2] On the derivation, see Eichman (1973).

[3] It is notable, however, that all the WGmc languages have reflexes of **kanst*. Possibly the geminate in **kann-st* was not reduced early enough for the word to lose the nasal consonant in NSGmc; but this plainly did not prevent loss of /n/ in *cūð* < **kunn-þaz*, to the same root.

[4] On the etymology, see Molencki (2002: 365).

(c) Classes 4 and 5

6.137 With vocalism in the present in LWS like preterites of strong class 4 are *ġeman* 'remember', *beneah*, *ġeneah* 'suffice', *sċeal* 'shall'; perhaps like a preterite of strong class 5 is *mæġ* 'can':

		Present Indicative		
Sg. 1	ġeman		sċeal	mæġ
2	ġemanst		sċealt	miht
3	ġeman	-neah	sċeal	mæġ
Pl.	ġemunon	-nugon	sċulon	magon
		Present Subjunctive		
Sg.	ġemune, ġemyne	-nuge	sċyle, sċule	mæġe
		Imperative		
Sg.	ġemun			
Pl.	ġemunaþ			

		Preterite Indicative		
Sg. 1	ġemunde	-nohte	sċolde	mihte
Pl.	ġemundon	-nohton	sċoldon	mihton
		Preterite Subjunctive		
Sg.	ġemunde	sċolde	mihte	
Infinitive	ġemunan	sċulan	magan	
Infl.inf.	to ġemunanne			
Pres.part.	ġemunende		magende	
Pa.part.	ġemunen			

On umlaut in the subjunctives *ġemyne*, *sċyle*, see the discussion of *dyġe*, §6.134.

6.138 In regard to *ġeman* (a): the verb almost always bears a prefix *a-*, *ġe-*, *of-*, *on-*, but cf. Max I 141 *mon*, LawVIAs 8.1 *munon*. Pres.ind.2sg. *ġemanst* has an analogical ending, *-st* for earlier **-t*, see §6.142(b). The imperatives *ġemun*, *ġemunað* are still used by Ælfric, but they are not infrequently replaced by the subjunctives *ġemune*, *ġemunen* in non-Ælfrician LWS. Sometimes in LWS the verb is inflected as if not of the pret.-pres. class, e.g. ÆGram *iċ ġemune* (4×), ÆCHom and ÆLS *ġemanð* (2×), and cf. already in EWS Bo 36.106.27 *ġemunst*. In Angl the word is not inflected at all as a pret.-pres. verb but is conjugated in the pres. as a weak verb. The forms in PsGl(A) suggest inflexion as a verb of class III, since gemination is lacking, umlaut is sporadic in the present, and the preterite lacks umlaut or a vowel before the dental suffix, thus *ġemunu* pres.ind.1sg., *ġemynes* 2sg., *ġemynen* subj.pl., *ġemyne* imper.sg. *ġemunað* pl., *ġemundes* pret.ind.2sg. Nbr forms are similar, but almost always with *-y-* in the root, e.g. Li *ġemynes* pres.ind.3sg., *ġemȳste* (from **ġemynste*, the latter probably by analogy to *dorste*) pret.3sg.,[1] but cf. *ġemona* imper.sg. (or inf.?), JnGl 18.20 *ġemynas* imper.pl., corrected by the scribe from *ġemonas*. In regard to *-neah* (b): the vowel quantity is shown by cognates to have been short, e.g. Got *ga-nah*, and thus the verb must be of the class 4 type rather than class 2. The plural stem *-nug-* does not end in a resonant, the way verb stems of class 4 usually do, but it may be explained on the same basis as *brocen*, see §6.60n1. As regards *sċeal* (c): WS has *sċeolon* beside *sċulon*, Nbr *sċylon*, *sċilon* beside *sċiolun*, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.65ff.). WS and Nbr also show palatal diphthongization in the pres., hence usual *sċeal*, for which *sċeall* is very common in LWS. The verb is lacking in PsGl(A), but Ru1 has once *sċalt* pres.ind.2sg., with failure of fronting before /l/ plus consonant, see Hogg (1992b: §5.15), whence *a* is extended to 3sg. *sċal* (1×), also at Lit. 5.5.1.4 (Thomp-Lind) 1 (a southern rubric in DurRit), if *a* is not instead analogical to the pret. Ru1 *sċalde* (once, alongside *sculd-* 2×), Nbr *sċealde*, see ibid.: §5.34.[2] In regard to *mæġ* (d): pres.ind.2sg. *miht* and pret.3sg. *mihte*, etc., are probably influenced by the noun *miht*, which shows umlaut, a change to be expected in the verb only in the pres. subj. (with pret.subj. inflexion, see §6.124). EWS has etymological *meaht*, *meahte*, but already also very frequent *mehte*, with palatal monophthongization, see ibid.: §5.120. Angl has the pret. stem *mæht-*, also pres.ind.2sg. *mæht*, with smoothing, see ibid.: §5.93, whilst PsGl(A) *meġ* 3sg. shows second fronting, see ibid.: §§5.87ff. Late Kt has *meht* pres.ind.2sg., with palatal monophthongization, see ibid.: §5.119n1, and subj. *meiġe*, pres.part. *meġende*. Already in EWS there is some intermixture of *mæġ-* and *mag-*, e.g. CP, Bo *mægon* pres.pl., ÆGram *magende*, a mixture found also in Angl. In LWS, but not in the best Ælfric manuscripts, there occurs not infrequently a pret. stem *mug-*, reflected often in ME, e.g. in all forms of the verb in the *Ormulum*. In a sense, *mæġ* does not actually belong to the type of class 5, since PGmc **maȝ* must be assumed to have its **a* not from PIE **o* but from **a*, given the evidence of related forms like Grk *μῆχος*, Doric *μᾶχος* ‘contrivance’, see Prokosch (1939: §65g). It ought then to have been of the class 6 type, but there is no evidence of alternation between **maȝ-* and **mōȝ-* in this verb. It must already in PGmc have been remodelled to resemble a verb of the class 5 type, which would have been natural enough after the development of PIE **H̥* to Gmc **a*: cf. Got *mag* pres.ind.1sg., *magum* pl., *mahta* pret.ind., etc.

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[1] The assumption here is that the written form is correct and shows compensatory lengthening upon loss of /n/, see Hogg (1992b: §3.14). This requires the assumption that the form with *-st-* is as old as NSGmc, and that is certainly plausible: cf. OSax pret. *far-munste*, etc. Cf. §6.136&n2, 142(b) on *canst*. The substitution of *-st-* for *-d-* in the preterite was probably motivated by the consideration that all other pret.-pres. verbs reflect a voiceless dental suffix in the pret.

[2] Rather, Brunner (1965: §423A1) suggests that *sċalde* is analogical to the pres., or to *walde*.

(d) Classes 6 and 7

6.139 With vocalism in the present in LWS like a preterite of strong class 6 is *mōt* ‘be allowed, be obliged’; like a preterite of strong class 7 in regard to vocalism is *āh* ‘possess’:

	Present Indicative	
Sg. 1	mōt	āh
2	mōst	āhst
3	mōt	āh
Pl.	mōton	āgon
	Present Subjunctive	
Sg.	mōte	āge

	Imperative	
Sg.	āge	
	Preterite Indicative	
Sg. 1	mōste	āhte
Pl.	mōston	āhton
	Preterite Subjunctive	
Sg.	mōste	āhte
Infinitive	āgan	
Infl.inf.	to āgenne	
Pres.part.	-āgende	

No imperative plural or past participle is attested to either verb.

6.140 In regard to *mōt* (a): pres.ind.2sg. *mōst* and pret. *mōste* are formed like *wāst*, *wiste*, see §6.134. Very few Angl forms are attested: Ru1 has *mōt*, *mōstun*; Li has *mōt*, *mōto we*, *mōston*. In regard to *āh* (b), *h* is due not to final devoicing but to the non-application of Verner's Law.[1] LWS pres.ind.2sg. *āhst* is formed by analogy to strong and weak presents in *-st*; the older form is Li *āht* (3×), see §6.142(b). A participial form *āgen*, *ǣġen* (see §6.29 on the umlaut in the latter) survives in adjectival function with the meaning '(one's) own'. There also occurs a negated form *nāh*, *nāgon*, *nāhte*, with a dialect distribution like that of *nāt*, see §6.134. This verb is usually classified as being of the class 1 type, on the assumption that the PGmc vocalism **-ai-* of the present (originally preterite) singular replaced **-i-* of the plural at an early date. If that were the case, this would be the only preterite-present verb that does not preserve the original distinction between singular and plural vocalism in verbs in which such a distinction is to be expected (i.e., outside of class 6), and the change would have to have taken place at a very early date, since the verb in all the Gmc languages reflects **-ai-* throughout rather than **-i-*. This is rather suspect, and it thus seems likelier that **-ai-* is reflected in both singular and plural because this verb originally had a root structure comparable to PGmc **xaitanan* > OE *hātan*.[2]

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[1] Cf. Got pres.ind.1&3sg. *áih* (7×) beside analogical *áig* (1×). These figures are suggestive rather than probative, since there is devoicing of final fricatives in Got. But ON *á* is unequivocal, since original, final **-aih* develops to *á*, as here, whilst **-aih* from earlier **-aiȝ* gives ON *-é*, as in *sté*, older pret. of *stíga* 'step'.

[2] To the objection of Birkmann (1987) to classifying *āh* this way, cf. Antonsen (1992: 97).

2 *Historical development*

6.141 The antiquity of the preterite-present category is demonstrated not just by its appearance in all the Germanic languages and by extra-Germanic cognates like those of *wāt*, see §6.131, but by the nature of the dental suffix in the preterite. It does not reflect the PGmc *-*ð*- that is found in the weak verbs but *-*þ*- < PIE *-*t*-, suggesting that the preterites to this class were formed before the rise of weak preterites in *-*ð*- in PGmc, as otherwise it would be surprising that *-*ð*- was not used to form the preterites to these, as well.[1] The origin of this *-*þ*- is disputed, see §6.79&n4, but it must be regarded as ancient. Another difference between preterites in this class and in normal weak verbs is that in the latter the dental suffix originally appeared after a stem-final vowel, whilst in the pret.-pres. verbs it is attached directly to a root-final consonant.

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[1] The assumption of *-*þ*- rather than *-*ð*- is necessary to explain, for example, *āhte*, *mihte* rather than ***āgde*, ***mæġde*, see §6.100n3, and *cūð* 'known' rather than ***cund*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.14). The prets. of *ġeman* and *sċeal* are exceptions, with *-*ð*- already in PGmc: cf. Got *munda*, *skulda*, ON *munda*, *skylda*.

6.142 Some other signs of antiquity in this class of verbs are worthy of note. (a) In pret.-pres. verbs the vocalism of the stem of the 2sg. is the same as that of the 1&3sg., whilst in strong verbs the 2sg. of the pret. has the stem of the plural in WGmc. The mixture of stems in the pret. singular of strong verbs is a WGmc innovation, see §6.21, and so the pret.-pres. verbs demonstrate a more archaic state of affairs. (b) It is also notable that whilst strong verbs have in the pret.2sg. the ending -*e* that probably reflects an aorist inflexion, and weak verbs have the ending -*es(t)* proper to the present, pret.-pres. verbs retain the original perfect ending, reflecting PIE *-*tha*, which developed to Gmc -*t* after fricatives.[1] All the WGmc languages show forms in which -*st* has been substituted or has developed by analogical processes, as with OE *āhst*, *canst*, *dearst*, etc., but all also preserve some forms in -*t* like OE *þearft*, *sċealt*, *miht*. North and East Gmc retain original -*t* with very little analogical disruption. (c) It is striking that pret.-pres. verbs with the vocalism of class 4 have stems with *u* in the plural (*ġemunon*, *ġenugon*, *sċulon*) rather than the *ǣ* that is found in the pret.pl. of strong verbs of class 4. The latter probably originates in aorist forms, see §6.34, and thus these verbs are best assumed to evince the vocalism of the original perfects from which most strong verb preterites derive, before the mixing of perfect and aorist forms began in PGmc. Likewise, as noted above, §6.138, although *mæġ* is in origin probably like verbs of strong class 6 rather than 5, it must have been re-formed quite early, since it shows no trace of class 6 characteristics in Germanic. It also shares some of the archaic features mentioned above in connexion with pres.ind.2sg. *miht* and pret. *mihte*, showing that re-formation of the verb must have been quite early. If that is the case, it is of some interest that the pres.pl. is not **mǣgon* but *magon*, making it parallel to *ġemunon*, etc., as regards original perfect vocalism. (d) On the archaic nature of the subjunctive forms in this class of verbs, see Euler (1994).

[1] The inflexion *-t* thus predominated in the pres.ind.2sg. in this class, and *-t* was accordingly extended to environments in which *-þ* should have appeared, in Got *kant*, *skalt* and ON *annt*, *mant*. Original *-þ*, however, is reflected in Angl *(e)arð* 'you (sg.) are', see §6.150(i)&n1.

6.143 It will have been noted that wherever a past participle to one of these verbs is preserved in participial function in OE, it has the form of a strong participle with suffix *-en*, thus *witen*, *unnen*, *ġemunen*. Yet there are also certain OE adjectives that plainly reflect old weak participles with dental suffix, thus *ġewiss* 'certain', *cūð* 'known'. The restriction to adjectival function of the latter (as demonstrated chiefly by the semantic restriction of the weak form) suggests that the strong forms are innovations, and that is, in the main, what the comparative evidence suggests. In North and East Gmc we find only weak participles, e.g. Got *kunþs*, *munds*, *mahts*, along with some weak participles re-lexicalized as adjectives, e.g. Got *þaúrfts* 'useful', ON *skyldr* 'necessary', with the sole exception of Got *áigans* 'possessed' (cf. *áigin* 'property'), agreeing with OE *āgen*, *ǣġen*, OFris *ēgen*, OSax *ēgan*, OHG *eigan*. Since the suffixes **-n-* and **-t-* were both used to form verbal adjectives in PIE, it may be best to assume that the alternative use of the two suffixes, as suggested by Got *áigans*, is another archaism reflected in the pret.-pres. verbs of Gmc.

6.144 Amongst the 100 commonest verbs encountered in the *MCOE*, see §6.5, nearly all the pret.-pres. verbs are to be found: *mæġ* 'can', *sċeal* 'shall, ought', *wāt* 'know', *āh* 'possess', *þearf* 'need', *mōt* 'be allowed', *ġeman* 'remember', *cann* 'know how'. Excluded are only *dēag* 'avail', *ann* 'grant', *dearr* 'dare', *be-*, *ġe-neah* 'suffice'.

V Athematic verbs

6.145 In PIE, certain verbs might be conjugated in the present and aorist in such a way that the inflexions were added directly to the root, without any intervening thematic vowel, see §6.4. Thus, for example, whilst athematic Lat *est* 'is' reflects PIE **Hes-ti*, thematic Lat *tegit* 'covers' reflects **teg-e-ti*. The inflexions are identical in the two types, except that whilst the thematic type has PIE **-ō* in the pres.ind.1sg., the athematic type has PIE **-mi*. For this reason the relevant verbs in OE are sometimes referred to as *mi*-verbs, by analogy to references to *μι*-verbs in Greek, even though no reflex of **-mi* is to be found in most of these verbs in WS. The number of surviving Gmc verbs that evince characteristics of conjugation in this manner is small but of exceptionally high frequency, as might be expected in connexion with the preservation of some particularly anomalous inflexional patterns. They are all amongst the 100 commonest verbs in the *MCOE*.

The relevant verbs in OE are *bēon*, *wesan* 'be' (with the independent root reflected in *is* 'is' and related forms), *dōn* 'put, do', *gān* 'go' and *willan* 'will'. Other WGmc languages retain traces of another such verb, OSax *stān* (beside *standan*), OHG *stān*, *stēn* (beside *stantan*) 'stand', comparable to Grk *ἵστημι* < **s(t)i-stā-mi*.

1 *The verb* bēon, wesan

6.146 The athematic verb with the most complicated history is 'to be', and preservation of its irregularities is unsurprising given that it is the commonest verb in OE. In LWS the verb is most commonly inflected as follows:

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	eom	sȳ, bēo	
2	eart	sȳ, bēo	bēo, wes
3	is	sȳ, bēo	
Pl.	sint, sindon	sȳn, bēon	bēoð, wesað
Consuetudinal and future			
Sg. 1	bēo		
2	bist		
3	bið		
Pl.	bēoð		
Preterite			
Sg. 1	wæs	wǣre	
2	wǣre	wǣre	
3	wæs	wǣre	
Pl.	wǣron	wǣren	
Infinitive	bēon, wesan		
Infl.inf.	to bēonne		
Pres.part.	bēonde,[1] wesende		
Pa.part.	ġebēon[2]		

This is the only verb in OE with discrete synthetic future forms. Probably four PIE roots contribute to the WS paradigm of 'to be'. (i) **Hes-* is reflected in forms that begin with a vowel or *s-* (the latter reflecting the zero-grade **Hs-*). This is the root reflected in so many familiar cognates, such as Lat *sum*, Grk *εἰμί*, Sanskrit *ásmi* 'I am'. (ii) The second root is **bhew(H)-*, reflected in Lat *fuī* 'I have been', Grk φύω 'I beget', Sanskrit *bhávati* 'becomes'. (iii) The third root is **wes-*, as in Sanskrit *vásati* 'dwells', Middle Irish *fōaid* 'spends the night'.[3] The last of these supplies all pret. forms, as well as inf. *wesan* and pres.part. *wesende*. It has the form of a strong verb of class 5, with alternation between *-s-* and *-r-* under Verner's Law, see Hogg (1992b: §§4.4–5) and §6.61. (iv) Most likely *eart* reflects an *o*-grade form of the root **er-*, as explained in §6.150. For details of the sometimes complicated (and contested) derivation of the OE forms from their PIE antecedents, see Prokosch (1939: §75a).

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[1] Only ClGl 1 2268 *bēondum*.

[2] Only ChronE 1096.4.

[3] On the suppletive relationship and semantic development, see Tanaka (2002). Shields (2004) maintains instead that PGmc **wes-* is unrelated to PIE **wes-* but represents the same stem **Hes-* as in the present, with a deictic particle employed as a prefix **u-* in the preterite.

6.147 In PIE the root **Hes-* formed an athematic present (and hence also imperfect) but no perfect or aorist, and that is why suppletion was required in the Gmc preterite, which in other classes derives from the perfect and aorist. Originally, *wesan* must have had present-tense forms in Germanic, but they dropped out of use because when the preterite forms came to serve for the preterite of the reflex of PIE **Hes-*, the meaning of the verb was altered accordingly, and present forms in the sense 'to be' were not required, as they duplicated the function of **Hes-*. On the other hand, the reflexes of **bhew(H)-* overlapped in function only partly with those of **Hes-*. OE *bið* remains semantically distinct from *is* in referring to future and habitual conditions, and so the two roots preserve full paradigms in the present indicative in all dialects of OE. The distinction in meaning between **Hes-* and **bhew(H)-* is harder to discern in the imperative and in non-finite forms, in which the sense of contingency or consuetude is to an extent inherent, and thus it is not surprising that the reflexes of **bhew(H)-* have entirely supplanted those of **Hes-* in these categories; cf. Lat *es-se*, Grk *εἶναι* 'to be', etc. Likewise the distinction in meaning is somewhat obscured in the subjunctive, to which contingency is innate, and so it is no wonder that subjunctive forms of the reflex of **Hes-*, an ancient category (cf. Lat. *sim*, etc.), have almost completely driven out subjunctives to **bhew(H)-* in the Angl dialects, see §6.149.

6.148 Two of the stems contributing to the paradigm of 'be' produce examples of unresolved hiatus. (i) The spelling <ie> (at least outside EWS)[1] in the subjunctive does not represent a diphthong but a disyllabic sequence, as may be determined by the etymology and by poetic metre. The subjunctive, showing zero grade of the root, derives from the PIE optative, as usual, which had in PGmc **s-(i)j-* in the sg., e.g. **s(i)jǣm* 1sg., and **sī-* in the pl., e.g. **sī-mǣ* 1pl. In WGmc the latter stem was generalized, and in Pre-OE normal subjunctive inflexions were added. In a form like 3sg. **sī-ai* the vowel would have been shortened before another vowel.[2] It cannot be proved by direct means that disyllabic *sie* had a short root vowel, but the word must often be metrically decontracted in poetry, and in no instance is a heavy initial syllable required by the metre.[3] The word appears with sufficient frequency in verse, about 90 times, that the non-occurrence of a form requiring a heavy initial syllable cannot plausibly be attributed to chance. The spelling *sie(n)* also occurs in LWS prose, but only in texts that display Angl features, where it and the pronoun *hie* are very commonly the only words in the text containing <ie>.[4] (ii) The forms *bēon* and *bēoð* are sometimes unresolved in the scansion of verse, where the metre requires a heavy initial syllable, e.g. Dan 557b *drēamleas bēon*, ChristA 795a *þǣr moniġ bēoð*. The verb is to be compared with Lat *fiō* 'I shall be' and Old Irish *biu* 'I am accustomed to being' and hence derived from **bhw-iy-ō* 1sg. Accordingly, Gmc **bij-anþ* pres.3pl. may be expected to have developed in Pre-OE in a manner comparable to *frēoð* pres.3sg. 'loves', see §6.119. Since *frēoð* may be disyllabic in verse, as at GenA 2260, as may the similarly formed *fēoð* 'hates', as at GenA 911, hiatus in *bēon*, *bēoð* need not be regarded as analogical in origin. There is no hiatus in pres.2&3sg. *bist*, *bið* because **bhw-iy-esi*, **bhw-iy-eti* developed to PGmc **bijis*, **bijiþ*, in which */j/ would have been lost in WGmc, with early resolution of the hiatus, see Hogg (1992b: §4.7).

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[1] Perhaps in EWS as well: cf. the disyllabic scansion of *sie* in Met 10.23, 13.35, though Mercianisms in Met are not unthinkable: cf. §6.12. On <ie> of disyllabic origin in WS, see Hogg (1992b: §5.147).

[2] Cf. §5.17n3 on the parallel to the pronoun *hie*. On the shortening of antevocalic long vowels, see Fulk (1994). This corrrects Fulk (1992: §115, in a chapter in which there is unfortunately no discussion of *bēon*), since *sie* is to be derived from **sī-*, not **sij-*, see Prokosch (1939: §75a), Krahe and Meid (1969: II, §97).

[3] See §5.17n3, Fulk (1992: §108).

[4] See Fulk (forthcoming).

6.149 Some of the alternative forms in the paradigm in §6.146 are distributed on a dialectal basis. No imperative forms are recorded in EWS, but *wes*, *wesað* are not Ælfrician, and the Angl equivalents *wæs/wes*, *wosað* occur only in Nbr, where, conversely, imperatives *bēo*, *bēoð* never appear. Ps(A) has *bīo*, *bīoð*, Ru1 *bēo*, *bēoþ*, *bīoþ* (8×), beside *wæs* (2×), *wesaþ* (1×).[1] No infinitive is found in EWS, but *wesan* is rare in Ælfric (3×). Ru1 has *bēon* (18×, *wesa* 1×), the usual form also in LWS. The inf. is unattested in PsGl(A) (only *wesan* in the non-Merc portion of the gloss on the Canticles) but the OE Bede has *weosan* (6×). Nbr similarly has usual *wosa* and inflected infinitive *to wos(s)anne*, but cf. MtGl (Li) 1.20 *bīan*. An early Merc attestation of the stem *wes-* is CorpGl 2 9.101 *aetweosendre*, with diphthong by analogy to forms with back umlaut.[2] As for the subjunctive, the earlier form of LWS *sȳ(n)* is *sie(n)*, and this is the commonest form in all dialects but Ælfrician LWS, in which instead *bēo(n)* predominates. But *bēo(n)*, *bīo(n)* is also to be found in EWS, in Ru1 (11×, beside usual *sie(n)*) and similar forms, *pace* Campbell, 1977: 768(*d*)), and twice in Li (*bīa*, *bīe*).

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[1] This corrects Campbell (1977: §768(*d*)).

[2] Although the form is difficult, undoubtedly inf. *wesan* may also be abstracted from CorpGl 2 5.551 *wesandraegtre*, glossing Lat *exerceri*.

6.150 In addition to predictable phonological variants (e.g. Merc, Kt *siondan*, *seondan*, see Hogg (1992b: §5.104); Angl *wērun*, *wōēron* pret.pl., see ibid.: §§3.25, 5.177; PsGl(A) *wes* pret.1&3sg., see ibid.: §§5.87ff.; Li *bīan*, see ibid.: §5.138) and morphological variants (e.g. *bēo wē*, see §6.7), some discrete non-WS forms occur. (i) Corresponding to WS *eart* are Merc *earð*, Nbr *arð*, for which the best explanation is that they reflect the suppletive stem PIE **er-* (reflected in Lat *orior* 'I arise', Grk *ὄρνῡμι* 'I arouse') in the form of a pret.-pres. verb of the class 4 type, hence with PIE **or-* in the pres., with the original PIE perfect inflexion **-tha* of the 2 sg., see §6.142&n1.[1] Merc *earð* thus shows breaking (of **æ* in **ærþ* < PGmc *arþ*), whilst Nbr *arð*, rather than showing extraordinary combinative breaking, see ibid.: §5.29, has its vowel by analogy to pl. *aron*, *arun*, to which corresponds Merc *earun*, the expected plurals to the pret.pres. verb reflected in *earð*, which plural forms occur beside *sint* (PsGl(A) *sind*) and *sindon*, *sindun*. The pres.ind.1sg. is more difficult to explain: Nbr *am* may be regarded as taking its vocalism from pl. *arun*, and Merc *eam* from *earð* and *earun*, but this will not explain Kt *eam*,[2] and WS *eom* is simply mysterious.[3] In the plural, *sindon* beside *sint*, *sind* is the result of treatment as a pret.-pres. verb;[4] cf. Sanskrit *sánti* < **sénti*.[5] On the final devoicing in *sint*, see ibid.: §7.65. There also occurs subj. PsGl(A) 26.6 *siem* (also *sion*), which is certainly analogical, see ibid.: §5.146. Bülbring (1902: §454) explains Nbr *sĕ̄*, *see* pres.sg.subj. as the development of *sie* in unstressed position, with subsequent re-lengthening, see Hogg (1992b: §§2.44, 5.198); but Kt *sē* is perhaps due instead to Kt replacement of LWS *ȳ* by *ē*, cf. ibid.: §5.194, as suggested by Brunner (1965: §427A3). (ii) As for the stem in *b-*, Angl has pres.ind.1sg. *bīom*, *bēom*, *bīum*, *bēam* beside one instance of *bīo* (PsGl(A)), if this is not a subjunctive. The ending *-m* is probably not analogical to *eom*, *eam*, *am* but original: cf. OFris *bim*, *bem*, OSax *bium*, OHG *bim*.[6] In Nbr, beside rare *bīað*, the pres.ind.pl. to the stem in *b-* is *biðon*, *bioðon* (the latter with back umlaut) and similar forms, as if to a pret.-pres. verb; such forms are a small minority in Ru1.[7] In all the Angl dialects there is occasional mixture of pres.ind.3sg. and 3pl. forms, hence sg. Ru1 *bēoþ*, Ru2 *bīað*, pl. PsGl(A), Li *bið(ð)*. Disyllabic MkGl (Li) 10.43 *bīeð* ind.3sg. shows analogical addition of the unsyncopated inflexion found in most verbs of other classes. (iii) As for the stem in *wes-*, there are some unusual present forms, Phoen 373 *weseð* 3sg., LS 20 (AssumptMor) 270 *wesaþ* (one of the Blickling Homilies) pl., and relatively frequent *wese* subj.sg., often as an imperative, in poetry, PsGl(E, I) and LS 20 (AssumptMor). On frequent *was*, with unfronted *a*, see Hogg (1992b: §6.4.1).

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[1] This would then be the only verb in Germanic in which **-tha* is reflected as *-þ* rather than as the alternant *-t* that appeared after fricatives. Such is the explanation of Prokosch (1939: §75a). Lühr (1984: 37), however, argues that the -*ð* in Angl *(e)arð* originated in a following pronoun *þū*. This analysis demands the assumption that *(e)ar-* does not arise from a preterite-present stem derived from PIE **or-* but in the plural **eruþ* < **izuðe* from PIE **es-*. How **er-* was then altered to **ar-* in WGmc, however, cannot be explained without the assumption of some analogical changes that do not seem well motivated.

[2] Kt *eam* is probably not a Mercianism (as *earan* in Ch 1500 (Rob 3) and ChHead 1436 (Birch 384) may be), as it is found twice in lKt (OccGl 49).

[3] The PIE form was **és-mi*; cf. Got *im*. Prokosch says that *eom* 'has its vowel from the synonymous WS *bīo*' (1939: §75a), and Brunner (1965: §427) goes so far as to wonder whether the actual form was not *ēom*, with a long diphthong. Neither idea is very persuasive. The high frequency of the verb and use in positions of low stress may have led to an unparalleled phonological development.

[4] Shields (1984) argues instead that **-on* is an archaic PIE pres.3pl. ending, which seems problematic.

[5] As Prokosch (1939: §75a) notes, OE *sind* would appear instead to reflect PIE **sentí*, with shifted accent, since it shows the effect of voicing under Verner's Law. More likely the voicing under Verner's Law originates in positions in which the word was in low stress, as suggested by Brugmann (1894: 552–3) and Bennett (1972: 109).

[6] Wright and Wright (1925: §548) suggest that *bēom* is analogical to *eam*, but this is improbable, since the latter is not analysable as two morphemes: see §6.40&n1.

[7] On *bi(o)ðon* as analogical to *syndon*, with *-on* added to 3sg. *bið*, see Hogg (2003: 74–8).

6.151 In all dialects there are synthetic negated forms of stems in an initial vowel or *w-*. In LWS the forms are these:

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**
Sg. 1	neom	
2	neart	
3	nis	
Preterite		
Sg. 1	næs	nǣre
2	nǣre	nǣre
3	næs	nǣre
Pl.	nǣron	nǣren

Anglian has the expected corresponding forms, neam, *narð*, etc., and adds pres.pl. *naro(n)*. The dialect distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms is like that for *nabban*, see §6.118.

2 *The verb* dōn

6.152 In WS the verb *dōn* 'put, do' is normally inflected as follows, with such variations in the inflexions as are encountered in other verbs, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.11–30):

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg. 1	dō	dō	
2	dēst	dō	dō
3	dēð	dō	
Pl.	dōð	dōn	dōð
Preterite			
Sg. 1	dyde	dyde	
2	dydest	dyde	
3	dyde	dyde	
Pl.	dydon	dyden	
Infinitive	dōn		
Infl.inf.	to dōnne		
Pres.part.	dōnde		
Pa.part.	ġedōn		

In the pres.1&2pl. the form is usually *dō* before a pronoun, see §6.7. The word has been lost from East and North Gmc, but cf. the Gothic weak desinences pret.ind.3sg. *-da*, pl. *-dēdun*, etc., suggesting an original ablaut alternation between sg. and pl. It is cognate with Lat. *fa-ciō* 'I do' (perf. *fē-ci*), Grk *τί-θη-μι* 'I put', which illustrate the point that the WGmc verb reflects the PIE *ō*-grade of the root, whilst in other IE languages the grade is usually *ē*.[1]

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[1] Bammesberger (1986b: 112) explains this by assuming that **ō* was the vocalism of the reduplicated perfect stem and that, after loss of the reduplicative syllable, **ō* was extended to the present by analogy to pret. **he-hait* : pres. **haitan*.

6.153 The present system reflects the PGmc formation fairly straightforwardly, with loss of hiatus in all forms, preceded by umlaut in *dēst*, *dēð*. But since this word reflects an athematic verb, umlaut in the 2&3sg. indicates that the thematic inflexions **-is*, **-iþ* were introduced analogically from strong verbs. The preterite, however, presents some difficulties. Most have preferred to explain it as a refashioning of a reduplicated PIE injunctive form, e.g. PIE **dhedhēt* 3sg., retaining the reduplicative syllable, with umlaut due to extension of the plural subjunctive marker **-ī-* (as in the subjunctive of 'be', §6.148) to the indicative, and with **u* in the root (before umlaut) either as an unusual reflex of PIE **H̥* or by analogy to preterite-present subjunctives like *dyġe*, *sċyle*.[1] We believe the following explanation is more plausible.[2] Just as with *sie(n)*, see §6.148, the non-preterite forms of *dōn* are frequently to be scanned as disyllables in verse, but never with a heavy initial syllable, e.g. Beo 1057, 1129 *swā hē nū ġit dēð*, Rid 41.7 *þæs þā bearn dōð*, but never ***dōn mihte*, though *ġedōn mihte* is a common type. It is therefore to be assumed that in WGmc **dō-an* there was antevocalic shortening of the long vowel, as in *sie(n)*, so that the form was **do-an* before the hiatus was resolved. At this time *[o] was still an allophone of */u/, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.2, 3.10), and the variation is reflected in forms like OSax *duan*, *duon* beside *doan*, *doen* and OFris *dwā(n)*, and especially OHG forms like *duis(t)*, *duit* in Otfrid, with metrically short *ŭ*.[3] Accordingly, in Pre-OE a new preterite was formed, taking the pres. stem **du-* and adding the endings of preterites of weak class I, hence, e.g., 3sg. **du-i-dǣ*. With loss of hiatus after umlaut, there resulted a short root vowel in the preterite, just as **-u-i-* results in a short vowel in *dryas* 'wizards', as proved by the poetic metre at Jul 301. In spite of this refashioning with a weak preterite, the origin of *dōn* as a strong verb is still marked by the form of the pa.part. *ġedōn*.

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[1] See, e.g., Prokosch (1939: §75b). Against the supposition that PIE *H̥ could be reflected as Gmc *u* even in an unstressed syllable, see Fulk (1988). The alternative explanation proposed by Hill (2004: 280–1) that reduplicative syllables were unstressed in NWGmc, and *y* in OE *dyde* is the unstressed development of **e*, is phonologically insupportable.

[2] For details, see Fulk (1993).

[3] For parallels to *y* as the umlaut of **o/u*, cf. *wyrċan* 'create', *byċġan* 'buy' beside prets. *worhte*, *bohte*, etc., †*Wyrtġeorn* beside Latinized *Vortigernus*.

6.154 The verb is inflected in Kt as in WS, but cf. OccGl 49 8.22 *dede*, on which see Hogg (1992b: §5.194). In EWS there occur CP(C) 8.2 †*doe* pres.subj. and CP(H) 13.3 *weldoendum*, in which possibly *o* should be regarded as long, due to contraction, with analogical re-addition of the endings. But it is more likely that these are the original, uncontracted forms, because if they were analogical it would be surprising that they have disappeared entirely from LWS. Moreover, we do not find spellings like <foan> for *fōn* 'take' in EWS, and so non-contraction seems more likely than analogical re-formation. In addition, spellings of this verb with <oo> are so common in CP that perhaps some forms like *doon* and *dooð* represent uncontracted forms (although there are also spellings like *underfoon* in EWS, with <oo> representing a long vowel). In Angl there are many more uncontracted spellings, in all texts, e.g. PsGl(A) *doan*, *does(t)*, *doen* beside *dōn*, *dēs*, *dōn*, and in regard to these it is more difficult to determine whether the forms are original or analogical, see firstly ibid.: §5.147. Even in the pres.ind.2&3sg., where <oe> could represent an umlauted vowel rather than a contracted one, the metre of poetry that is surely Angl in origin sometimes requires an uncontracted form, e.g. Beo 1057, 1129, 2855, see Sievers (1885: 477); and parallel spellings of the verb *gān* 'go' provide unambiguous evidence for both contracted and uncontracted forms, see §6.157. Uncontracted forms of *dōn* (or *gān*) in verse, however, never require a heavy initial syllable, though probably a heavy syllable should be expected if non-contraction were due to late analogy.

6.155 Angl texts also evince some forms that are morphologically distinct from the WS ones. (i) PsGl(A), Ru1, Ru2, Li and DurRitGl all have pres.ind.1sg. *dōm*, probably reflecting the origins of the verb in the PIE athematic class: cf. OSax *dōm*, OHG *tōm*.[1] (ii) There occurs in poetry an unusual pa.part., ChristC 1206 *for-dēn*, 1265 *ġe-dēnra*;[2] also Lk(WSCp) 8.56 *ġedēn*. The vowel *ē* must be the umlaut of *ō*, see §6.29, rather than a reflection of the *ē*-grade of this root found in most IE languages (as well as OE *dǣd* 'deed'), and which appears to underlie OHG *gitān*, OSax *gidān* (beside *gidōn*), since we should expect PGmc **dǣnaz* to have produced OE *dōn* rather than *dēn*, see Hogg (1992b: §3.22). (iii) In Li, Ru2 and the Merc-derived PsGl(I), Mart 5, Bede, and some others, beside *dyde* there are preterite forms with <e> in the root. They occur only in the plural, where they are in the minority, beside more usual *dydon*. That this is at least sometimes a short vowel, as in OSax *deda*, OHG *teta* pret.ind.1&3sg. (beside 2sg. *dādi*, *tāti*, 3pl. *dādun*, *tātun*) is perhaps demonstrated by the back mutation in Kt Rec 6.5 *deodan*, as maintained by Campbell (1977: §768(*b*)), though the evidence is hardly secure.[3] Campbell's converse claim that there is no evidence for length in Nbr <dedun>, however, is plainly insupportable. His assumption is that when WS scribes copied Angl poetry, they substituted *dǣdon* for Angl <dedun> in ignorance of the actual quantity of the root vowel. This assumption requires him to propose that the poet of PPs extended this purely orthographic error into the realm of phonology, since the metre demands a heavy initial syllable in both instances of *dǣdun* in PPs, even though this text evinces numerous Angl features[4] and must have been composed by an Anglian poet, who should have known better if Angl <dedun> always represented a word with a light initial syllable. More important, this analysis relies solely on orthographic testimony, ignoring those instances in poetry in which *dydon* is shown by the metre to have been substituted by WS scribes for Angl *dēdun*, e.g. Beo 1828b *hwīlum dydon*.[5] It is thus possible that Angl <e> in the pret. always represents a long vowel, as might be expected given that <e> never appears in the Nbr pret.ind.1&3sg., the only ind. forms in which short /e/ appears in OSax and OHG.[6] The Mercian-derived texts are less exacting in the observance of this distinction.[7] Since the verb was abandoned in East and North Germanic, the origin of the long vowel in the pret. is difficult to determine.[8]

[1] With *-m* < PIE ind. **-mi*, see Flasdieck (1937a: 44). At all events, *dōm* must not be regarded as a late product of analogy to *eam*, *am* ‘I am’, which can only have been regarded as a single morpheme; see §6.40&n1.

[2] Flasdieck (1937a: 49) would explain *dēn* as an erroneous WS substitution for a form containing Angl <oe> in the scribe’s exemplar, under the misapprehension that <oe> represents an umlauted vowel rather than a decontracted form. This is possible, but another unusual pa.part. in this text, *bifēn*, with metrically monosyllabic *-fēn*, see §6.73, suggests that *dēn* may not be an error.

[3] This is the Codex Aureus inscription. We of course have no secure evidence for original /e/ in the Kt pret., since *y* > *e*, see §6.154. It is not inconceivable that <eo> should represent the Kt back umlaut of *y*, since the latter is not often found in a position in which it would be subject to back umlaut. Moreover, if back umlaut remained an active phonological process in Kt, it might have applied after the change of *dydan* to *dedan*. Brunner (1965: §429A1) also objects that the misspelling <beoc> for *bōēċ* undermines the authority of the orthography of this text. In addition, he regards the language of this text as Merc, but see Hogg (1992b: §1.9n1) and Lowe (2001: 82). Restriction of the forms in <e> to the plural is especially difficult to reconcile with Campbell’s point of view, since <e> is proper to the 1&3sg. in OSax and OHG.

[4] See Fulk (1992: 410–14).

[5] See Sievers (1885: 498), Fulk (1992: §355(4)).

[6] The forms with <e> (including compound *ðerh-*) are these: Li ind.2pl. (2×, including one instance in MtMarg), ind.3pl. (7×), subj.3pl. (3×); Ru2 ind.3pl. (2×), subj.3pl. (1×).

[7] Excluding subj. forms: PsGl(I) (Lindelöf) 3sg. (1×), 1pl. (1×), 3pl. (1×); Mart 5 (Kotzor) 1sg. (1×), 3pl. (1×); Bede 3sg. (1×), 2pl. (1×), 3pl. (1×). But <e> is to be expected in all forms of the subj., as in OHG. Hence it is not surprising that <e> has invaded the 1&3sg. in these texts, since it appeared in all other pret. forms; it is more surprising that it has not done so in Nbr. Forms with <e> (including subjunctives) are to be found as well in PsGl(E), MonCa 1 (Korhammer), ConfGl (Först), HomU 15 (Robinson), HomU 35.2 (Nap 44), and perhaps some others; but the last two texts show distinct Kt features. There also occur HyGl 2 (Milfull) 20.4 *dē̆don*, which could be Kt., and Can (Brussels) subj.3sg. *dē̆de*.

[8] The alternation of the root vowel in the OSax and OHG pret. is that of a strong verb. Prokosch (1939: §75b), followed by many, explains it as induced by analogy to class 5, though that is difficult to credit, especially as the WGmc present stem *do-* would then have differed from pret. **ded-/*dǣd-* in ways unparalleled in other strong verbs. Since the OHG pa.part. is *gitān*, as noted above, it may be that the long vowel in the pret. is original, with weak endings added, as in OE *dydon*. See Flasdieck (1937a: 50–4). This is also the conclusion of Hill (2004), though his explanation of the present vocalism as derived from the subjunctive of a root-aorist is difficult to credit.

3 *The verb* gān

6.156 In WS the verb *gān* ‘go’ is normally inflected as follows, with such variations in the inflexions as are encountered in other verbs, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.11–30):

Present		**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**	**Imperative**
Sg.	1	gā	gā	
	2	gǣst	gā	gā
	3	gǣð	gā	
Pl.		gāð	gān	gāð

Preterite		
Sg. 1	ēode	ēode
2	ēodest	ēode
3	ēode	ēode
Pl.	ēodon	ēoden
Infinitive	gān	
Infl.inf.	to gānne	
Pres.part.	gānde	
Pa.part.	ġegān	

In the pres.1&2pl. the form is usually *gā* before a pronoun, see §6.7. There are differing views on the etymology of the pres. stem, and whether it is related to strong *gangan*.[1] Most likely the root is cognate with that in reduplicated Grk *κίχημι* 'I reach' < **ǵhi-ǵhē-mi*. It is unnecessary to posit an alternative PGmc stem **gai-* to account for OE *ā* in the root, as supposed by, e.g., Flasdieck (1937a: 59–62) and Mottausch (1997, 1998a), see §6.157. Pret. *ēode* is often said to be cognate with Got *iddja*, pret. to *gaggan* 'go', but see §6.158; there is nothing comparable in any other Gmc language.

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[1] E.g., to Flasdieck (1937a: 54–5) cf. Prokosch (1939: §75c). It is worthy of note that in Got, where there is no direct cognate of *gān* (but cf. Crimean Gothic *geen*), the pret. *iddja* that appears to correspond to OE *ēode* is instead pret. to the verb *gaggan* (= OE *gangan*).

6.157 The non-pret. conjugation of *gān* is obviously parallel to that of *dōn*, §6.152. Another parallel is that, as with *dōn*, forms in verse must often be scanned as disyllabic, but never with a heavy first syllable, e.g. Beo 2034 *on flett gǣð*, etc., with frequent verses like Beo 1277b *ġegān wolde* but never ***gān wolde*, cf. §6.153. It should therefore be assumed that uncontracted forms have a short root vowel, and this explains how OE *gān* may be derived from PGmc **gǣn* rather than **gain*: as with *dōn*, the athematic endings were replaced by thematic ones (hence umlauted 2&3sg. *gǣst*, *gǣð*), and so the result was, e.g., inf. **gǣ-an*, in which shortening would have taken place in WGmc just as in **dō-an*.[1] Either the shortening of **ǣ* was identified with **a*, as might be expected before the onset of first fronting, since there was no **æ* for it to be identified with, or shortened **æ* was subsequently restored to **a* before **a* in the next syllable, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.35ff.). The former assumption accounts better for 2&3sg. *gǣst*, *gǣð*, as **-æ-i-* might be expected to have produced **ē* after loss of hiatus. This account also offers the possibility of explaining the peculiar co-occurrence of *gān* and *gēn* in OHG.[2] This argument will be laid out in greater detail in a forthcoming publication.

[1] The awkward assumption that the stem **gai-* must be reconstructed in West Germanic beside **gǣ-* has long been the usual analysis: see, e.g., Mottausch (1997), with references. That early OE *gān* is to be analysed as a disyllable with a short first syllable was pointed out, on the basis of metrical evidence, by Fulk (1994). Unbeknownst to us in 1994, Kortlandt (1990: 8–9) had earlier proposed that forms like OE *gǣþ* can best be explained as originally disyllabic, though he did not suggest that the root vowel before hiatus was short.

[2] This leads somewhat afield of present purposes, but it may be said briefly that a paradigm with **-i-* in the pres.ind.2&3sg. inflexions and a back vowel in the other inflexions after **a* in the root could very well have produced *ā* beside *ē* within the paradigm, with subsequent levelling in both directions. Umlaut of *ā* < **ǣ* is not expressed in OHG orthography (it begins to appear as <æ> in MHG), whilst the umlaut of *a* is represented as <e>.

6.158 Pret. *ēode* is usually regarded as cognate with Got *iddja* pret.3sg. < prehistoric Got **ijjǣ(þ)* (?), pret. to *gaggan* ‘go’, both to be derived from the PIE root **(H)ey-*, as in Lat *eō*, inf. *īre* ‘to go’. Doubts remain about whether such a derivation can be maintained for *ēode*, not least because, as observed by Sievers (1900), the pret. is never **īode* or **īade* in Nbr, always *ēode*, *ēade*. If the Got and OE words are not related, determining the derivation of *ēode* may seem futile, in view of the absence of cognates in Gmc.[1] The lack of umlaut in the preterite suggests that whatever the source of the preterite, it was formed according to weak class II or III.[2] The distribution of *ēod-* and *ēad-* in Ru1 and Nbr is not at serious variance with the treatment of PGmc **eu* in these dialects, see Hogg (1992b: §§5.44–5).[3] Thus, the most plausible explanation is that of Cowgill (1960), who reconstructs for the PIE root **ey-* (ignoring any possible laryngeal consonant) a reduplicated perfect **e-óy-e* 3sg., **e-iy-ń̥t* 3pl. After the Gmc accent shift, PGmc **j* (from **y*) would have been lost after the unstressed vowel in the singular, just as in weak classes II and III, see §§6.108, 6.114. Subsequently, the reflex of the plural stem was generalized in Gothic, and that of the singular in Old English, with refashioning in both languages as a weak verb, in OE by the addition of a dental preterite suffix in a manner analogous to the re-formation of classes II and III described in §§6.108, 6.114.[4]

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[1] Cowgill (1960) offers a review of the literature.

[2] The chief alternative is to suppose, with Holthausen (1903: 342), that pl. *ēodon* reflects PIE **é-wdh-n̥t*, an augmented, zero-grade aorist to the root reflected in Lat *vādere*, OE *wadan* ‘go’. This is the solution favoured by Flasdieck (1937a: 63), but, brilliant as it is, it faces some difficulties, inasmuch as verbal augment is nowhere else reflected in Gmc, and as OE *wadan* shows, the root is PIE **-weHd-*, which should yield reduced rather than zero grade in ablaut. Mottausch (1994) provides a convenient summary of the divergent views, though in all but details his own solution does not seem an improvement on Cowgill’s. Schumacher (1998) does not address the feasibility of Cowgill’s explanation, but he proposes that PGmc **ej-* ‘go’ had a pret. **ǣj-* by analogy to **ǣt-* ‘ate’, and to pret.1&3sg. **ǣ*, endings of the second weak class were added in Pre-OE.

[3] Flasdieck (1937a: 63) reports the following figures for *ēod-* : *ēad-* in the relevant texts: DurRitGl 0 : 10, Li 116 : 117, Ru2 98 : 8, Ru1 103 : 3. Cf. also ErfGl 1.76 *ġeēadun*.

[4] For further references, see Rix (2001: 233n15).

6.159 A notable morphological innovation is that Nbr has, instead of the strong pa.part. *ġegān*, a weak *ġeēad*, based on the preterite; the pa.part. is unattested in Merc. Otherwise, aside from the variants already mentioned, the non-WS dialects have only such departures from the paradigm in §6.156 as might be expected on the basis of regular phonological developments and parallels in *dōn* and other verbs. These include occasional uncontracted spellings, e.g. PsGl(A) *ingā̆e* pres.subj.1sg., *forðgā̆a* imper.sg. (cf. very frequent *dō̆a*), with much variability in the unstressed vowels in Nbr, e.g. Li *gā̆e*, *gā̆æ* 1sg., *ġegā̆a*s, *gā̆es*, *gā̆æs* 3sg., etc. PsGl(A) *ġeondgān* pres.ind.1sg. may be an error for **-gām* (cf. OHG *gām*), or perhaps **-gā̆u*, with the Angl inflexion *-u*, as suggested by Campbell (1977: §768(*c*)). Umlaut is preserved exceptionally in the pres.ind.2&3sg. in Angl, e.g. Li *ofgǣstu* 2sg., *gǣð*, *gǣs* 3sg., whence *ǣ* may be extended analogically to other forms, e.g. *gǣ* 1sg., inf., *gǣð* pres.pl.[1]

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[1] This analogical extension proves the point (that *ofgǣstu*, etc., contain /æː/) in the face of the objection of Brunner (1965: §430A3) to the evidence of *gǣs*, *gǣð*, etc., the objection being that <æ> here may represent uncontracted *ae*, given that <ae> in Nbr texts is often used to represent *æ*.

4 *The verb* willan

6.160 In WS the verb *willan* 'wish, will' is normally inflected as follows, with such variations in the inflexions as are encountered in other verbs, see Hogg (1992b: §§3.11–30):

Present	**Indicative**	**Subjunctive**
Sg. 1	wille	wille
2	wilt	wille
3	wile	wille
Pl.	willað	willen
Preterite		
Sg. 1	wolde	wolde
2	woldest	wolde
3	wolde	wolde
Pl.	woldon	wolden
Infinitive	willan	
Pres.part.	willende	

No inflected infinitive is attested, nor any imperative or past participle; but cf. PsGl(A) negated imperative *nyl* (3×), also in PsGl(B) (2×). The other Psalter glosses use subj. *nelle*, *nylle* for the negated imperative. In the pres.1&2pl. the form is usually *wille* before a pronoun, see §6.7.

6.161 The verb is cognate with Lat *volō* 'I wish'; its original athematic form is indicated by Lat *vult* 3sg. Due to frequency of polite, therefore subjunctive, usage, in Gmc the original subjunctive (PIE optative, see §6.2n1) forms replaced the indicative. The PIE athematic optative suffix **-ī-* was added to the stem **wel-*, followed by the usual inflexions, hence PGmc 2sg. **wel-ī-s*, 3sg. **wel-ī-þ*, the latter reflected as OE *wile*. But thematization of the verb set in early, and in WGmc thematized **wel-ī-ō* 1sg., **wel-ī-anþ* 3pl. developed to **wiljō*, **wiljanþ*,[1] hence the gemination in *wille*, *willað*. Subsequently, new optatives of the ordinary type were formed on the basis of the stem *will-*. As for the 2sg., *wilt* is formed by analogy to pret.-pres. verbs, and unsurprisingly, since *willan*, like many of them, has auxiliary function; cf. more original OSax *wili(s)*, OHG *wili*, but OFris *wilt*, *welt*. As Got *wilda* pret.3sg. illustrates, the dental marker of the pret. was added directly to the root, without intervening suffix, unlike in the regular weak verbs, demonstrating an affinity with the pret.-pres. verbs, see §6.141. The vocalism of OSax *welda* (beside *wolda*) thus could reflect the original situation; but OE *wolde*, OSax *wolda*, OHG *wolta* show replacement of the original pret. vocalism by analogy to semantically and morphologically parallel WGmc **skuldǣ* (giving OE *sċolde,* etc.).[2]

[1] Thus Prokosch (1939: §75d). However, as the phonological development cannot be authenticated, alternatively it would be possible to assume that the verb was re-formed in the same way as verbs of classes II and III, with **-jō*, *-janþ*, etc., substituted for the earlier endings, see §§6.108, 6.114.

[2] Flasdieck (1937b: 28–30) and others would instead explain *o* from PGmc **u* as arising in the reduced grade of the PIE root **wl̥-*, which is hardly a necessary assumption, especially given that East and North Germanic both reflect a Gmc pret. stem in **wel-*.

6.162 In LWS the verb is often spelt with <y> in the present. Nbr usually has pres.ind.1sg. *willo*, but cf. also Li *wille*, *will*, *wællo*, *wælle*; Kt has the corresponding *willa* < *willu*, and cf. Ch 1508 (HarmD 10) 47 *willio*. Occasionally the pres.ind.3sg. is *wille* rather than *wile* in WS, e.g. ÆHom 18.105, ÆHomM 2 (Irv 3) 86, though never in the best Ælfric manuscripts, as well as in EWS CP (e.g. 13.75.22) and Kt Ch 1197 21.[1] It is not always possible to rule out the possibility that *wille* is a subjunctive. Conversely, Ru1 has only *wile* for pres.ind.3sg, whilst Nbr has *wil(l)*, including LRid 11 *uil*. Occasional forms with <e> in the root are found in Angl, e.g. PsGl(A) *wellende* pres.part., Ru1 *wellaþ* imper.pl., Li, Ru2 *welle* subj., beside Li, DurRitGl *wælle*, also Li *wælde* pret.subj. The Angl pret.ind. is *walde*, see

Hogg (192b: §5.34), and <a> is found in some other forms, as well, thus Nbr *wallað*, *wallas* pl. beside Li *uallon* (1×).[2] It is, it may be seen, almost exclusively outside the pres.ind.sg. that spellings with <a>, <æ>, <e> are found. Flasdieck (1937b: 24–42) explains forms with <a> as reflecting the root seen in Got *waljan* 'choose', and those with <æ> or <e> as having the umlaut of this; see also Kortlandt (1986b). But <a> may also be explained as having originated phonologically in the pret., see again Hogg (1992b: §5.34). The matter remains unresolved.

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[1] The figures supplied by Flasdieck (1937b: 19) for the incidence of 3sg. *wille* are unreliable, as they include forms that may be subjunctive.

[2] Also MkGl (Ru) 10.35 *wallon we*; cf. negated 6.50 *nallon ġe*, Li *nallo we*.

6.163 On the WS synthetic negated forms *nyllan*, *nellan*, *nolde*, etc., see Hogg (1992b: §5.152). Angl forms are comparable to the non-negated verb, e.g. PsGl(A) *nyllað*, *nalde*, Nbr *nallað*, *nallas*, *nalles*, *nællað*, etc. Nbr never has <y>, except DurRitGl *nylt* 2sg., but cf. Li *nuilt*, also *nwill iċ*, *nuilliċ* pres.ind.1sg., comparable to Ru1 *nylliċ*.

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Word Index

Only Old English words are indexed. The alphabetical order follows normal usage except in the following particulars:

(1) <æ> is placed after <a>, and <þ> is placed after <t>. Variant graphs, for example <ae> for <æ>, <ð, th> for <þ>, <u, uu> for <w> are not distinguished in order.
(2) The prefix <ġe-, ġi> is ignored in alphabetization, but all other prefixes are appropriately ordered.
(3) Where variant elements in head-forms are indicated by round brackets in the head-form itself, the full spelling determines the alphabetical order, except in the case of such alternative spellings as are due to palatal diphthongization of back vowels after *(s)ċ*, for example <sċ(e)acan> where the order is determined by the variant <sċacan>.

Words are normally indexed under a head-word according to Late West Saxon norms, with the exception that some individual forms are indexed separately where that is the only form discussed. The head-word is usually cited in its nominative singular (masculine) form for nouns and adjectives; if a head-word is not nominative singular, this is indicated. The head-word given for verbs is the uninflected infinitive, except for preterite-present verbs, for which the head-word is the present indicative 3 singular. If no such form is attested in OE, then this is indicated by an asterisk. In the case of first- and second-person pronouns, the singular and plural (dual) forms are not separately indexed.

In entries for verbs, the pres.ind. is to be assumed initially (after the usually inf. head-word) and thenceforth, as well as after such a specification, until a different tense or mood is indicated. Verbs with prefixes are generally listed under the simplex, as long as the simplex is treated in the grammar.

A Grammar of Old English: Morphology, Volume 2 Richard M. Hogg and R. D. Fulk

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Where different inflexions are usually identical, as in nominative and accusative plural forms, the form is indexed under the major form. Similarly, the gloss ‘pret.3sg.’ usually refers to both first and third persons singular without distinction. Case, gender and number are not indicated for past participles.

Where difficulties might arise, the head-word is often cross-indexed. However, cross references are not normally given for inflected forms of head-words, or where the variation is general. Variant spellings discussed in the text are often indicated within round brackets immediately after the head-word, for example ‘abær (e)’ for *aber*, but the absence of such indication has no significance and especially should not be taken to imply the absence of any such variation.

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